

Oxford Church Text Books

An Elementary History
of the
Church in Great Britain

W. H. HUTTON

S. A. Matteson

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of the Church in Great Britain

BY

THE VEN. WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D.

ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON, CANON OF PETERBOROUGH, FELLOW
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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. The Church in Britain,	1
II. The Early English Church,	4
III. The Medieval Church,	19
IV. The Reformation,	38
V. The Church under the Stewarts,	62
VI. The Eighteenth Century,	76
VII. The Nineteenth Century,	82
GLOSSARY,	91
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,	95
INDEX,	99

AN ELEMENTARY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH IN BRITAIN

THE Divine Society which our Lord Jesus Christ founded to be the perpetual embodiment on earth of His Divine Purpose and the channel of His Divine Grace, found ready to its hand the expansive power of the world empire of Rome. As birds carry the seeds to fresh garden ground, so the Roman civilisation spread the Gospel of the Son of God. We do not know when the first Christians landed in Britain, or when the Church first sent its missionaries or set up its organisation. Probably Christianity came first with some converted soldier, or some rich provincial who sojourned in Britain. Probably it came directly from Gaul, indirectly from Rome. There is no sign of Eastern origin about our National Church.

Of any Apostolic mission we have no trace. It was suggested in early times that S. Paul preached to the Britons : S. Peter, too, has been named as a preacher in our land, and an old legend tells that Joseph of Arimathea came to Glastonbury and planted the holy thorn. But these, if they are not impossible, are tales for which we have no credible warranty. For all we know, the Catholic faith was like the grain of mustard seed of a chance planting, yet it grew in Britain till the birds of the air took shelter under its branches.

Almost certainly there was no church organisation in Britain before 185, for S. Irenæus, naming all the

2 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

churches of the West, makes no reference to our land. Thirty-two years later Tertullian makes direct mention of 'districts of the Britons' as 'subjugated to Christ'; and about thirty years later still Origen speaks of Britain as one of the distant regions whither the Gospel had spread. In the fourth century we have direct evidences of the existence of the Church. The first is a story of which, though we do not hear it till nearly a hundred years afterwards, it is difficult to doubt the substantial truth. A Roman soldier named Alban learned to serve Christ from the beautiful life of a persecuted Christian priest, and he gave his life for his faith at Verulamium (now known by his own name, S. Alban's) within the first decade of the fourth century.

More direct than this is the evidence of the assent of British bishops to the councils of Arles 314, Nicæa 325, Sardica 343, Ariminum 359. Scanty memorials, too, with Christian emblems scattered over the land, prove the existence of a small Christian population, chiefly among the poorer classes; and there are remains of a fourth-century Christian church at Silchester, and possibly also at Canterbury. It is plain that Christianity had spread into Wales before the departure of the Romans; and we may believe the Church, though it was not strong, to have been firmly rooted before the great storm of heathen invasion burst over the land.

The British Church was Catholic: that is, it agreed in all essentials with the Holy Church throughout all the world. It worshipped One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity. It had the Apostolic ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. Pagan survivals there were, no doubt, as indeed there still are; but the religion of the Christians was not semi-druidical, but, as S. Athanasius declared in 363, loyal to the Catholic faith. In the fifth century S. Patrick, the great missionary to Ireland, in the sixth Gildas, the first of our national historians, were writers untainted by heathenism or heresy.

But at the very time of the withdrawal of the Roman legions, false teaching began to perplex and divide the Church. Pelagius, a Briton, whom S. Jerome calls 'a great fat dog of Albion,' began to teach against the

Christian doctrine of original sin. He did not himself teach in Britain, but his doctrine was spread by one Agricola. The British clergy appealed to the Church of Gaul to resist the error, and two bishops, S. Germanus of Auxerre and S. Lupus of Troyes, were sent in 429 to help the small Church now struggling with heresy. They preached 'in churches, in streets, in the country and the byways,' and when a Saxon band of pirates joined the northern Picts in an attack on the Britons, Germanus, on Easter Day 430, led the Christians to victory, won without bloodshed by the panic into which the pagans fell when they heard the Easter shouts of Alleluia echo from hill to hill. S. Germanus visited Britain a second time in 447, and completed the destruction of Pelagianism. He left behind him a cherished memory, particularly in the West, where many churches are called by his name.

Christianity was not restricted to the South of Britain.

Before this it is said that S. Patrick, himself of Celtic race, had gone to convert the Irish, and Palladius, who had probably been with S. Germanus, went on a mission to the same folk. About 390 S. Ninian, himself a Briton who had studied at Rome, went back to what was very likely his own land of North Britain, and preached the Gospel to the heathen Picts of Galloway. Thus, before the great change of the fifth century, there was in Britain a branch of the Catholic Church, not strong, but yet national, and affecting both branches of the Celtic race—the Brythons, who were largely Romanised, and the Goidels, who retained their old tribal life but little impaired. This Church was in close connection with the Church in Gaul. It had relations with Rome, less close by far, but relations of respect towards the first see of the West, where the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul were the objects of reverence to the Christian world. It had relations too with the East, with the great Church of Constantinople, the imperial city where lived the Cæsar to whose sway Britain, so long at least as his legions remained, was subject.

Thus stood the Church when the English came to Britain.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

THE conquering English swept over the land, and Christianity died under the devastating wave. Only in a few isolated districts of the country, which came to be called England, did it linger, and among the Goidels and the Brythons of Wales and of Devon and Cornwall, and in Strathclyde (the district from the Firth of Clyde to the Derwent, and between Derwent and Dee). There the Celtic Church survived, marred by many grievous errors of practice, and unwilling, or too weak, to influence the Teutonic conquerors, but rich in saints and in missions, and in close connection over sea with the Churches of the Irish and the Bretons. Bangor and S. Asaph's, still cathedral cities, were already famous, and S. David, who founded the see which bears his name, lived in the sixth century. It was for the Celts an age of saints, but it was an age also of conflict and sin. Gildas, the British monk, sternly condemns the vices of his people. Cornwall, or West Wales, as it came to be called, was soon split off from its northern kin, and Cumbria was cut off from Wales, and the three divisions of the Celtic Christians had to go their ways separately. But the Celts could still put forth missions. In 563 S. Columba came from Ireland, trained by a pupil of S. David, and thus associated with Welsh traditions, to settle at Iona with a colony of monks; and ten years later S. Columbanus with his followers spread the Gospel over vast tracts of the continent of Europe, among Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards.

In 597 came the mission which was to convert the heathen conquerors of Britain and to make England a

Christian land. Æthelberht, king of Kent, had a Christian wife from Gaul, and she had with her a Christian bishop. Englishmen were seen at Constantinople in the Cæsar's court; and S. Gregory, even before he became Pope, planned the conversion of the barbarians. One day, the story runs, he saw in the slave-market at Rome some fair-haired lads, and was told that they were 'Angles,' and that their king Ælla ruled over the land called Deira (that is now Yorkshire). 'Not Angles, but Angels,' he said, and he prayed that they might be brought *de ira* (out of wrath) to sing 'Alleluia' to God. When he became pope he sent missionaries, and in 597, between Easter and Pentecost, they landed in the isle of Thanet, most probably at Richborough, some forty men with Augustine at their head, the true founder of the English Church. Singing litanies, they approached the king and his wise men, by whom they were kindly greeted, and before long they settled in Canterbury, where the king gave them the ancient church of S. Martin, which was then still standing and even now remains. On Whitsun Eve, June 1, 597, King Æthelberht was baptized, and Christianity began to be the favoured religion. No man was compelled to enter the Church, but the king 'treated believers with a closer affection, as fellow-citizens with him in the kingdom of heaven.'

S. Augustine was consecrated by Vergilius, bishop of Arles, to be archbishop for the English folk; and when help and advice were needed, the pope sent him more men and much wise counsel. He worked among the English for seven years, and when he died on May 26, 604, he had accomplished a great work, whose effects last till to-day. He consecrated two more bishops, Mellitus for Essex and London, Justus for Kent and Rochester. He met the bishops of the West Welsh near Cricklade (probably 'the Oak' at Down Ampney), and found that they would not join with him; and the two Churches went on side by side for centuries, till at last the British Church was merged in the Church of England. Gradually Celtic customs yielded to those of the West, and political changes caused the see of Canterbury to spread its protecting hands over the Welsh and Cornish

6 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

bishoprics. From the tenth century the latter, and from the thirteenth the former, have been ecclesiastically subject to the primate of all England.

As the years went on Christianity spread among the English, among the East Anglians, and in the Midlands, and maintained its hold, though with difficulty, in Kent. In 625, when Eadwine, king of Northumberland, took a wife from Kent, her chaplain, the bishop Paulinus, was able to spread the faith among the men of Yorkshire. At Goodmanham, in Yorkshire, the Northumbrian wise men accepted Christianity. Life, said a thane, was to them in their heathen days as a sparrow that flies through the lighted hall; only the Church of Christ could tell whence it came and whither it went. Eadwine was a great king to whom the Brythons of Strathclyde had bowed, and he bore a title which showed his rule over the Celtic races. The Church spread more rapidly under his protection than in any other part of the land, and though when he died Paulinus had to fly to the south to save the widowed queen from a new heathen power, his work among the Yorkshire dales and moors and over the plains of Lincolnshire was never wiped out. The minsters of Lincoln and York remain to remind us of the founder of their Christian life.

But the work of faith in the north owed much to another source. Oswald, king of Northumbria, a Christian and a saint, won back the kingdom from the heathens, and having himself found shelter at Iona, he looked thither for help to revive the Church which had suffered from the heathen sway. Only ten years had passed since Paulinus had begun the mission: in 635 S. Aidan, consecrated by the Celtic bishops at Iona, came to revive and confirm the work. He settled at Lindisfarne, the 'Holy Island' near where, in the rock fortress of Bamborough, dwelt the Northumbrian king, and from thence king and bishop went out over the land in their fellow-work. Churches were built, and schools and monasteries set up, and the beautiful life of S. Aidan, 'a man of the utmost gentleness, piety, and moderation,' led men to follow him gladly in the way.

Christianity was spreading everywhere. In 634 Birinus

came to Wessex and was bishop of Dorchester near Oxford; and before many years Cedd was sent by Oswiu the Northumbrian king to work among the East Saxons, and Chad in the Midlands. The south of what came to be called Scotland was joined to the Church of Northumbria. Thence came S. Cuthbert, and the days of his youth were the days also of the two Northumbrian nobles who lived to do great service to the Church: Benedict Biscop, priest, artist, and musician, whose work still remains at Monk Wearmouth, and Wilfrith, who settled in 661 at Ripon. In 664 the two branches of the English Church met, by the wish of King Oswiu, in the monastery of Whitby, to settle their differences. Those who owed their faith to the Scottish missionaries still followed the Celtic customs, as to reckoning Easter, as to the tonsure, and in other matters. Wilfrith and the stronger section looked across the sea to the usage of the 'Catholic Church dispersed throughout the world.' The synod decided in favour of the latter, many of the Celtic clergy at once accepted the decision, and the final unity of the English Church from that day was certain.

To the missionary zeal of the Scots we owe much, and the northern and midland shires will never forget the names of S. Aidan and S. Chad. But Celtic Christianity was fitted rather to evangelise than to build up. With the unity of the English Church came an organisation, helped by association with the Universal Church, which strengthened what had been begun, and spread the Gospel where it had not yet penetrated. The synod of Whitby completed what S. Augustine had begun. He had come to convert the English. In 664 the English recognised their union with the Catholic Church.

After the synod of Whitby, when the guidance of the Church in Britain passed into the hands of the priests who followed the customs of Western Christendom, Colman, the abbat of Lindisfarne, went back to Iona, whence the mission of the Scots had come, and thence to Ireland. The monasteries of North England were still ruled by men trained among the Scots, but they accepted the usages of the South. The Northern mission had done its work. It had planted the Church in the affections

8 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

of the people, and it had taught, through monasticism, the simple virtues of the Christian life. The English historian, devoted in his attachment to the Catholic uses of the West, bears the noblest testimony to the saintliness of Colman and his companions. 'How great was his simplicity,' says Bede, 'how great his self-restraint, the very place which they governed shows for himself and his predecessors, for at their departing there were found very few houses besides the Church; indeed, no more than were barely sufficient for their daily life. They had no money, but only cattle; for if they received any money from rich persons, they immediately gave it to the poor: there being no need to gather money or provide houses for the entertainment of the great men of the world; for such never resorted to the Church, except to pray and hear the word of God. The king himself, when opportunity was, would come only with five or six thegns and depart when prayer in the church was over. But if they happened to take a repast there, they were satisfied with the plain and daily food of the brethren, and needed no more; for the whole care of those teachers was to serve God, not the world.'

The unity of the Church in Britain was now shown by the fact that Wilfrith, the great advocate at Whitby of the Catholic claims, was nominated to be bishop among the Northumbrians, and Chad, now abbat of Lastingham, who belonged to the Scottish mission, was sent by Oswiu to Canterbury to be consecrated bishop of York. Two British bishops, probably Cornish, joined in the laying on of hands. Wilfrith was consecrated in Gaul, at Compiègne, by twelve bishops, one of whom was Agilbert, who had been bishop in Wessex. When he returned to England in 666, his master, King Alchfrith, was dead, and for some time no diocese was placed under his rule. He resided quietly at Ripon, acting as bishop sometimes among the Mercians, while Chad, 'a most religious servant of God and an admirable teacher,' governed the Northern Church for three years. Then, when Chad retired to Lindisfarne, whence he moved in 669 to be bishop of the Mercians at Lichfield, Wilfrith became bishop for the whole province of the Northumbrians.

The English Church was now to receive its second great impulse from Rome. In 668, at the request of the Northumbrian and Kentish kings, Pope Vitalian chose and consecrated Theodore of Tarsus, a monk of sixty-six years, to be archbishop of Canterbury. He was the first archbishop of Canterbury consecrated by the pope, and after him there was no other so consecrated for five hundred years.

Theodore's first work was to visit all England, and to him we are told all the Churches yielded a ready obedience. Then came years of peace and quiet growth. The people were taught, and everywhere stone churches, magnificent beside the simple wooden buildings then chiefly seen in the north, were set up. Wilfrith began the building of York Minster, and Hexham, Jarrow, Ripon. Monk Wearmouth still contains remains of his day. Theodore in 673 held the first council of the Church of the English, 'the precursor of the present convocations of the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York.' The archbishop had been sent to England from Rome, but in the canons this council set forth there is not the slightest reference to Roman authority or Roman example. In 680 a second council was held at Hatfield, which declared its belief in the complete doctrine of the Holy Trinity and its acceptance of the five general councils. Ten years later the first great archbishop of the English died, after ruling for twenty-two years. In his time the English bishoprics grew from seven to seventeen, and the dioceses remained much as he left them till Henry VIII. added more. He brought to the English a new influence which neither Augustine nor Aidan had given—the influence of the Eastern Church; and he began the great schools which made the English the most learned among the Churches of Europe. His work was to set the English free to rule their own Church. 'Before this,' says the great English chronicle, 'the bishops had been Romanish: henceforth they were English.'

The last years of Theodore had seen a strife with that bishop of the English who was most distinctly 'Romanish.' Wilfrith in 678 was expelled from his see, most likely

10 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

because of some quarrel with the northern king Ecgfrith about the property given to his see. He went to Rome, and a synod there ordered that he should be restored. But of this neither the English Church nor the king took any heed, and when he came again to the north he was imprisoned. Released after nine months, he went to convert the South Saxons, of whose barbarism he had had earlier experience; and then, when after five years Ecgfrith was slain in distant warfare with the Picts, he was restored to York, Hexham, and the monastery of Ripon. Again in 691 he was expelled, and for fourteen years he was deprived of his see. Restored in 705 to the bishopric of Hexham only, he retained it till his death in 709. His long career is a proof of the sturdy independence of the English Churchmen, both clerical and lay, and their indifference to papal orders and threats.

Partly by the keen interest which all folk, high and low, took in religious matters, and which was seen so clearly in their determination to settle its own affairs, but more by the holy lives of many of its sons and daughters, the Church in Britain grew during these years, we may believe, in favour with God and man. Ecgfrith's dominions stretched northwards to include the south-west of what is now called Scotland, and in his day was set up the great cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, on which may still be read Caedmon's dream of the Holy Rood. The names of Oswald and Oswiu remind us that holiness was not confined to the cloister, but yet it is among the professed religious that we find in Cuthbert, Hilda, and Ædilthryd the most beautiful examples of the consecrated life. The third of these, Ædilthryd (St. Etheldreda), was married first to an ealdorman among the East Angles, and then to Ecgfrith of Northumbria, but remained always vowed to God. She received the veil from Wilfrith, and at length obtained leave from her husband to 'lay aside worldly cares and serve only the true King, Christ.' Then she went to Ely, where her first husband had given her lands, and built a house, over which she ruled as abbess 'by works and example of a heavenly life, the virgin mother of very many virgins consecrated to God.' She died in 679. More famous

still was S. Hilda, who was converted by Paulinus, and was given by S. Aidan land to found a monastery by the Wear, from which she moved to Streaneshalch (Whitby) in 658. Here she ruled over both monks and nuns. Five bishops came from her fold, and the first poet of English race, Caedmon, who told the tale of the Creation and Redemption in verse. Hilda was sought by kings and wise men from all parts, and her advice was received as an oracle of God. Under her care the Scriptures were studied, and the Apostolic example of poverty and self-denial was ever followed, and her house became the most famous in the northern lands.

Cuthbert, abbat of Melrose and of Lindisfarne, and from 685 bishop of the latter place, lived till 687 as the brightest example of the piety, active as well as contemplative, which the Scottish mission had produced. As a preacher he was 'clear and plain, full of dignity and gentleness.' He was 'great in humility, glorious in the reality of his faith and the ardour of his charity,' lowly of heart, sweet of voice, with his mind ever fixed on heavenly things. He ministered among the poorest and in the wildest districts of the land, that was scarcely yet reclaimed by man. Through his prayers and by his hands the sick readily received healing, by faith in Jesus Christ. Above all, he had the best qualification of a teacher, says Bede, 'for whenever he bade any one do a thing, he showed the way by doing it himself.' Years after his death he came to be the patron saint of the great see of Durham, where the splendid cathedral rose over his bones, to be the perpetual memorial of his name, to the honour and praise of God.

In such men and women as these of whom we have told, Theodore, Cuthbert, Wilfrith, Chad, Etheldreda, and Hilda, the world saw very diverse talents and powers offered in service to God. By their struggles, though they were not always rightful, and by their humble saintly deaths, the Church grew in the thoughts and in the hearts of the tribes that dwelt between the Tay and the English Channel. The death of Wilfrith ends the era of great men as well as the age of the first organisation of our Church. With the eighth century it stood

12 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

forth as the superior of the kingdoms which its influence helped to combine in one.

✓ The years that followed the death of Wilfrith saw the organisation of the Church in England in slow but sure progress. Kings were her nursing fathers, queens her nursing mothers. In the courts and in the monasteries religion was fostered; and while the kings helped the monks, the monks helped the State by the teaching of sound learning, the arts and agriculture, as well as of true religion. England was being gradually divided into parishes. The dioceses were so large that the bishops were not able even once a year to visit every part of them, and it was their aim, says Bede, to ordain priests and appoint teachers who in every village should preach the Word of God, and consecrate the heavenly mysteries, and above all perform the office of holy baptism when opportunity should occur. The monasteries were often a great help to the parish clergy and the bishops. From them came the missionaries, such as S. Willibrod, archbishop of Utrecht, and S. Winfrid (Boniface), archbishop of Mainz, who made England famous in the conversion of the north German barbarians. From them came the bishops, many of them kinsmen of the kings, such as Ecgberht, first archbishop of York, 735, the brother of Eadberht, king of Northumbria, and Alcuin, the most learned man of the age, the adviser of the Emperor Charles the Great. And from them came the histories which tell us nearly all we know of our forefathers in those distant days.

The first and greatest historian of the English is the Venerable Bede. He was born about 672 and died in 735, and nearly all his life was spent in the monastery of Jarrow, which with that of Wearmouth was founded by Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian noble and monk, who did much for the civilisation of the north in 674. His history he gathered 'either from ancient documents, or from the tradition of the elders, or from my own knowledge': and to it we owe nearly all that we know of the beautiful lives of Cuthbert and Aidan and Hilda, of the wisdom of Theodore and the enthusiasm of Wilfrith, and of the dark days of danger and sin through which the

Church came at last to her high heritage. From him we learn how important it was that the Scottish missionaries should yield to the unity of Christendom, and at the same time how great is our debt to the saintly lives of the leaders of the Northern Church.

Bede was everywhere honoured, and his advice was sought by all, from the highest ecclesiastic to the poorest scholar. He died while he was completing the translation which should enable Englishmen to read the Gospels in their own tongue; and when the last words of S. John's Gospel were written, his soul passed to Paradise, with 'Glory to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost' on his lips.

Bede died when the Church appeared to have fallen from her first love. For the next century it seems as though everywhere there was sloth and decay. The overlordship of England had passed from the Northumbrian kings to those of the Mid-English, and they had none of the zeal for righteousness which had belonged to Oswald and Oswiu. S. Winfrid from Germany, as well as popes from Rome, wrote to reproach the kings for their evil lives, and prelates for their slackness in enforcing the discipline of the Church. In 747, at a council at Cloveshoo, Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury and his suffragans tried to reform the abuses which disgraced the people and the priests. Offa, the Mercian king, thought to mend matters by setting up a new archbishopric in 787, but it lasted only sixteen years; and when the West Saxon king Ecgberht became overlord of all the tribes, the archbishop of Canterbury was finally recognised to be the primate of all England. Nothing stirred the Church from her slumber till the coming of a new heathen horde.

In Wales, during these years, the church of the Brythons had continued to hold aloof from the English. 'Up to this day,' says Bede, 'it is the habit of the Brythons to esteem the faith and religion of the English as a thing of nought, and to hold no more communication with them than with pagans,' and the British priests beyond the Severn Strait would give to Englishmen neither greeting nor kiss of peace. Now came the age of approximation. It is clear that in Bede's time the Welsh

14 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

Church was quite independent of Rome, but within the eighth century Wales accepted the Western rules about Easter and the tonsure, to which the Scottish mission had submitted after the synod of Whitby a century before.

From the time of Elbod, bishop of Bangor, who died in 809, the Churches of Wales and England ceased to be hostile, and when King Alfred's rule spread over 'the southern part of Britain [*i.e.* of Wales]' they began to blend together in unity of mission as well as of faith.

Beyond Northumbria the missionaries from Iona had spread the light of the Gospel into the northern regions of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness, but there was as yet no parochial system, and priests were scattered scantily over the land. When Kenneth, who united in himself the blood of the Picts and the Scots, came to rule the land, he established the ecclesiastical primacy at Dunkeld. Iona, exposed to the ravages of the pirate Norsemen, ceased to be the centre of Church life, and a new order of monks, called in Goidelic *Culdees* (servants of God), became the chief representatives of the Celtic Church. Their life was much less strict than that of the regular monks. They married, and their abbats had much secular power: but they had little of the missionary zeal of the sons of Iona, and when the monastic revival at length spread northwards, they became organised under the same rules as the secular canons.

In the middle of the ninth century Christianity had extended over nearly all Great Britain; and though the Churches of the English, of the Brythons, and of the Goidels recognised no common superior either within the island or without, they had a plainly visible unity in faith and doctrine. Lack of learning, now deplorably conspicuous, tended to keep the priests and bishops in isolation. Something was to be done to revive zeal by the fearful devastations of the Danish invasion.

Less than sixty years after Bede's death the reformation that he had earnestly desired came through the sword of the heathen invader. In 794 his own monastery was sacked by the Danes, and within fifty years they

conquered all the north and a great part of the south of England. Everywhere monasteries perished and churches fell before their attack; and martyrdoms for the name of Christ were constant. Edmund, king of the East Anglians, suffered for his faith in 870. Centuries later the abbey and town of Bury S. Edmunds rose to commemorate him near where he laid down his life. It was a century of persecution and of darkness. One of the few events favourable to the Church was the recognition by the West Saxon king Æthelwulf in 855 of the duty of paying tithes.

Light comes again with the good King Alfred the Great, who held out in Wessex against the Danes. He won peace for his land, surrendering in 878 the north and half the Midlands to their king, Guthrum, who became a Christian. Alfred was a saint as well as a statesman and warrior. He taught his people by his translation of pious books, he trained learned clergy, and he set the example of a strict and holy life. He revised the laws of the English, setting in the forefront the ten commandments. Under him the Welsh Church came closer to the English; and his successors remained firm sons of the Church. The next great name is that of Archbishop Dunstan, the first of the ecclesiastical statesmen who did so much in the Middle Ages to make England great. From 940 to 988 he exercised a commanding influence on English history. His vigorous administration kept off the Danes. His laws taught the State to organise the country and to protect the weak. He adopted the revived rule of the great S. Benedict, and through his reforms the monasteries, weakened everywhere and often destroyed by the Danish invasion, became a new power in English religion and education. At this time the religious houses were largely in the hands of secular canons, *i.e.* those clergy who, without parochial cures, lived a common life, with very slight rules, and often married. Everywhere abroad the impulse of good men was towards a stricter rule, and many of the English bishops and abbats wished to place all the important posts in England, and especially those belonging to the cathedral churches, in the hands of the monks. Dunstan

did not interfere with those bishops who turned out the canons and put monks in their place. But he made no change at Canterbury when he became archbishop. His influence was in favour rather of making the clergy learned, and he does not seem even to have interfered with their marriages, which there was a growing tendency abroad to consider unlawful. Glastonbury, long the centre of British legends and memories, became under him the source of learning to the West.

When a new Danish invasion began the Church was strong enough to resist it, not by arms, but by the self-sacrificing lives of her clergy. At the end of the tenth century England was again attacked and overrun. Ælfeah (S. Alphege), archbishop of Canterbury, was martyred rather than despoil the churches and the poor for his ransom. The English king Æthelred fled, and the land was ruled by the heathen Swegen. For a while Eadmund Ironside, Æthelred's son, held out against the barbarians, but when Swegen died his son Canute soon became king of all England.

Canute, born a heathen, had been baptized, and he gradually grew into a consistent Christian and a good king. Under him the Council of Wise Men, in which sat the bishops, passed laws for the reform and support of the Church. He rebuilt monasteries and churches, and upheld strict justice both to poor and rich. He visited Rome, and from thence he sent a touching letter to his people, telling them how he had reproached the pope for the money he took from English archbishops for the pallium (a sign of jurisdiction over bishops) which he gave them; but had promised to pay the 'Peter's-pence' which King Offa had first given for the support of the English school at Rome; how he had repented of his sins, and would ever after care for the welfare of the English. 'I have sent this letter before me,' he wrote, 'that all the people of my realm may rejoice in my well-doing, for, as you yourselves know, never have I spared and never will I spare to spend myself and my toil in what is good and needful for my people.'

Canute died in 1035, and in 1042 England had again the line of her old West Saxon kings. Edward the

Confessor (1042-1066) was a good man, pious, temperate, gentle, but he was ruled by others, and his patronage was no real support to the Church. During his reign the influence of his friends over sea prepared England for a new conquest. He was the son of the Norman lady Emma and of Æthelred, and during the Danish rule he had taken refuge in Normandy. When he returned, he was ruled in State affairs alternately by Earl Godwine, a friend of Canute's, and by the family of Earl Leofric, who ruled in the Midlands. In Church matters he was wholly under the influence of foreigners.

The Normans, not long converted to Christianity, were the devoted friends of the see of Rome. Their religion was strict and orderly, and rich in the beauty of art, music, and learning. With them the monasteries set a standard of devotion which raised the whole tone of the clergy, and Church law, now becoming brought together in books, was enforced over clergy and laity alike. Edward began to make Norman bishops of English sees, hoping no doubt to improve the English Church. He made Robert of Jumièges archbishop of Canterbury, Ulf bishop of Dorchester, and William bishop of London. Only the last was a good bishop. Robert brought in the pope's power, which had been little known in England, and Ulf 'did nought bishoplike.' Edward gave himself to private devotion, lived more and more like a monk, and founded the abbey of S. Peter at Westminster, where he was buried, and where his shrine still remains. In 1052 the English people rose and drove out the Normans, and for the last years of Edward's reign, Godwine, and after him his son Harold, ruled the land. Robert of Jumièges, though he was still lawful archbishop, was replaced at Canterbury by Stigand, bishop of Winchester; but men would not recognise him, and when he received the pallium from an unlawful pope, foreigners regarded him, and England with him, as in schism.

Thus when Edward, called the Confessor for his simple Christian life, died in 1066, the pope and the Church abroad were ready to support William, duke of Normandy, who said Edward and Harold had promised him the crown of England.

On October the 14th, 1066, Harold was slain in the great battle of Senlac near Hastings, and William the Conqueror became king of the English. He stretched his power northwards to the borders of the now united kingdom of the Scots, and to the borders of Wales. Under him the English Church, submitted to new and powerful foreign influences, was to learn to abandon its isolation and come into the family of national Churches. During the age since Canute, the clergy had become more careless, the monasteries more lax. Everywhere learning was behind the standard of the rest of Europe, and the clergy who joined with lay folk in the courts of hundred and the shire, as their bishops did with the wise men in the National Council, suffered themselves to be little distinct from those whom it was their duty to instruct and elevate. The English were sleepy, unpatriotic, self-indulgent; and it needed the Norman despotism and the enthusiasm of the Norman bishops to stir the people and the Church to life.

CHAPTER III

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR came to the throne determined not only to subjugate the English people, but to reform the English Church. He placed in the office of archbishop of Canterbury his friend Lanfranc, abbat of Bec in Normandy, an Italian born at Pavia and formerly a lawyer. The wide culture of this man, his powers of organisation and of discipline, were of great service to the Church. Gradually the English bishops were replaced by Normans, who taught a stricter way of life, introduced foreign learning and foreign church music. Abroad a reformation was being spread over the whole Church by the genius of Pope Gregory VII. He held that the Church should be entirely separate from the State, ruled by her own laws, judged by her own courts. Simplicity, precision, legal definition were ideas which appealed to William and to Lanfranc. Thus the king issued an edict by which he ordered that the Church courts and the lay courts should be kept separate, and that the clergy should be judged in the Church courts and by the Church law and canons now collected by foreign lawyers. All criminal trials too, in the last resort, were placed under the charge of the bishops; for the trial of criminals was by *ordeal*, and this was now to be held under the Church's sanction only. This rule lasted till the Church abolished ordeal early in the thirteenth century.

But while William thus seemed to give great powers to the Church, he did not suffer his own power to be

diminished. He would not allow the Church councils to pass any new canons without his sanction, a rule which later kings always endeavoured, though not always successfully, to enforce, and which was finally confirmed at the Reformation, and is still the law of the land. He forbade the excommunication of any of his men without his leave. And he kept a tight hold on the relations of the Church with Rome. He would not allow the archbishop of Canterbury to recognise as pope any one who had been elected to that office unless he had first received his permission to recognise him. When Gregory VII. demanded that he should recognise England to be granted to him by the papacy, and should pay tribute, he replied that he would still pay the Rome-scot or Peter's-pence as his predecessors had paid it, but he would never admit any subjection to the papacy, as the English kings had never been subject.

William and Lanfranc, with the Norman bishops, made order and rule in the English Church. Many new monasteries were founded, and stricter obedience to the monastic rule of S. Benedict was enforced. Only one Englishman continued to hold his bishopric, the saintly Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, who gave great help to the king and archbishop in putting down the slave-trade which the English had long wickedly carried on from the port of Bristol. Though at first the Norman monks and bishops were thought to be harsh, they soon became the protectors of the English people against the tyranny of a new king.

William II. was a very different man from his father. He was grossly wicked and cruel, setting law at defiance. When Lanfranc died, he long kept the archbishopric vacant, and he was aided in robbery and oppression of the Church by his minister, Ranulf Flambard, whom he made bishop of Durham. At length, when he thought himself dying, he made Anselm, abbat of Bec, archbishop. Anselm was a man of great learning and of holy life, a philosopher and a saint, whom all men loved; but he could not withstand a strong king. Refusing to pay the unjust demands which would have beggared the Church and involved him in the sin of buying holy things, he

was driven into banishment, and only returned when the evil king was dead.

Henry I., himself a scholar, began by granting a charter which gave freedom to the Church from all unjust demands. But before long he came into conflict with Anselm on the question of investitures. Who should give to the bishops and abbats the formal admission into their estates and into their spiritual position? The king claimed to bestow, not consecration, but the outward signs of spiritual power, the pastoral staff and the ring. Anselm had the whole support of the pope when he refused to yield what would have implied that the Church owed to the State her power to convert and comfort sinners and to strengthen humble Christians in the way of faith. At length, in 1107, the dispute was settled by the Church's fully recognising that her lands were held from the State, by the bishops-elect doing homage to the king before consecration, and the king giving up all claim to bestow any signs of spiritual power.

This was the result of Anselm's life, and in 1109 he passed away in peace, leaving behind him a memory which did much to knit together English and Normans, statesmen and priests.

In Scotland the close of the eleventh century was a time of great importance to the Church. The Lowlands had asserted their power over the Highlands, and the southern kings, of half-English race, were rulers of the whole land. Malcolm Canmore, who came to the throne in 1057, married, for second wife, Margaret, great-niece of Edward the Confessor. She was a wise woman and an instructed Christian, and with the aid of priests, sent to her by Lanfranc, she worked a reformation as great as, or greater than, he worked in the south. Monasteries sprang up everywhere to cultivate the land and teach the rules of a holy life. The Church was brought into union of customs with the south, and the Lord's Day began to be strictly observed. The reform continued under her sons. The parochial system was established, and later, the land was mapped out into dioceses. Under David I. (from 1124) cathedrals were

rebuilt, new dioceses formed, and chapters appointed to the cathedral churches.

The Church was now extended to distant Caithness, which in the twelfth century became united with the Scots first in ecclesiastical and then in civil bonds. It was previously ruled by Norsemen, like Orkney and Shetland. In 1110 S. Magnus was murdered in Orkney by his Christian cousin, Haco, and in 1137 the cathedral of Kirkwall was raised to his memory. These islands remained ecclesiastically subject to the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway until 1472.

It was the great work of David I. that he founded the monasteries for which Scotland was long renowned, and whose magnificent ruins still excite the admiration of travellers. The ancient Culdees he replaced by more strict societies: by the Benedictines, as at Selkirk and Dunfermline; by the Premonstratensians, as at Dryburgh; by the Cistercians, as at Newbattle and Melrose; and by the Augustinian canons, as at Jedburgh and the house of the Holy Rood by Edinburgh. Under him, and largely through their influence, the Celtic Church of Scotland became merged in the Church of English teaching and ritual and Roman origin.

The years that followed the death of S. Anselm were not a time of conflict. He seemed to have left to the Church a legacy of peace. The arrangement which he had made with the king worked harmoniously, and the State made no more excessive claims at the expense of the Church. But a time of peace became, as so often in the Church's history, a time of secularisation. The State felt that it needed the help of Churchmen, and the Church for the time seemed to fancy that its best work lay in helping the State.

Henry I. set before him the task of organising the administration in a way which should make the royal power felt everywhere in the land. He found his best agents among the clergy. In the thirty years that followed the death of S. Anselm, the government was conducted mainly by clergy, carrying out the plans of the great king who established the Norman rule on a firm basis. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was the king's

chief adviser, and he was assisted, as the years went on, by many members of his own family, who founded a sort of new clerical and ministerial nobility, in the hands of whom were the reins of government, the secrets of policy, the machinery of administration, both central and, to a less degree, local also. The clergy, so largely employed in work which nowadays is considered to belong almost exclusively to laymen, were rewarded by ecclesiastical preferment. The king employed Churchmen for his work, and he used the Church as a means of rewarding his servants. Excuse for this may be found in the fact that the clergy were helping, as probably no others at the time could have helped, in the founding of a system of just government which would benefit all classes. Spiritual duties were too often neglected, and yet in the end it was not all loss. Bishops and clergy were seen collecting taxes, hearing law-suits, conducting negotiations with foreign powers, even leading armies in the field; but in each of these cases something was gained for the cause of right. Something was done to teach honesty in money matters, justice in litigation, a respect for right between nations, and the national claim to be governed by rulers whom the nation had chosen.

Henry I. left a firm fabric behind him, a strong government and just laws. He left them in the hands of the clergy to maintain. During the first years of Stephen all went well, so long as Roger of Salisbury and his family conducted the administration. An early charter of Stephen's shows that he considered that it was the influence of the clergy which had largely decided the people to choose him for king, in spite of the claims of Matilda, King Henry's daughter, and the oaths which many of the great men had taken to her. The new king would have been wise if he had kept up the tradition of his predecessor. But a hasty jealousy caused him to break with the Church, to seize and imprison Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and two other bishops, his near kinsmen; and from that moment his own throne was never secure, and the crown was contested for many years between Matilda and himself. Still he said he would allow the churches to choose freely their own

bishops, and it is possible that this freedom was for a time enjoyed. At each step of the conflict it can be seen that the Church retained her influence. Church councils chose or repudiated the different claimants, and it was the clergy who still maintained order where it was maintained at all.

The reign of Stephen is in many respects one of the most important in the history of the English Church. For some time a new influence had been at work counter-acting the secularity which had set in after S. Anselm's death. Abroad, S. Bernard, from the abbey of Clairvaux, had inspired high and low with a new fervour of devotion, a new and living faith in the Crucified, and a new ideal work for Him in the cloister and in the world. Popes, kings, nobles, and humble monks set about their duties under his guidance with a new enthusiasm. It was not long before the revival of religion spread to England. Henry of Blois, King Stephen's brother, who was a sincere disciple of S. Bernard, though very much of a statesman also, became bishop of Winchester, and it was he who for a long time directed the course of public events during the conflict for the crown. If he was led away little by little from S. Bernard's ideal of simplicity, it was not so with others. More monasteries were built in England between 1135 and 1154 than in any other corresponding period. The monks set themselves to work as well as to pray. They colonised many waste places, and the deserts which William I. had left after his 'harrying' of the north began to blossom, said pious chroniclers, like the garden of the Lord. The spiritual work of the Church in the reign of Stephen will be readily understood by one who will think how many of the abbeys he has seen, or of the parish churches in the style which we call Norman, were built in that reign. The chroniclers of the time tell many stories which show how much good work was done. A new religious order was founded by an Englishman, Gilbert of Sempringham. It admitted both men and women, and it took special care of education, that both sexes should be taught to serve God with a reverent intelligence as well as a godly fear. We have tales, too, of singular sanctity in the quiet

country villages, of men and women the holy example of whose simple lives was known far and wide; and our village churches were then, as much as they have ever been in times more famous for religious movement, the centres of parish life. In spite of warfare, and of the savage deeds of the barons, which were probably confined to a comparatively small part of the country, the reign of Stephen was a time of quiet growth.

It was inevitable also that it should be a time of growth in assumption on the part of the clergy. The clergy had been trained to govern and to judge, and now the civil wars left few others who would do either. It seems that the county courts, where justice had been administered under the sheriffs, broke down utterly. The Church courts stepped in to fill up the gap. Men began to take to them many suits which a more accurate definition of the boundaries between Church and State would have left within the province of the latter. In this way cases concerning advowsons and presentations to livings fell into the hands of the Church, and also cases concerning wills and debts, and many moral questions. The Church law was being codified, and men were able to appeal to it more definitely than, in spite of the work which the clergy had done towards codifying also the customary law of the country, they could appeal to the common law. And while all over the country clergymen were taking an important part in public affairs, and were claiming for their courts a widely extended jurisdiction, a new body of workers was being raised up in a sort of school which the Archbishop Theobald established in his palace at Canterbury. Here men were quietly trained, with discipline and prayer, and with all the learning of the day, to take up the work which Henry I.'s clerks had done, and to carry it on in the spirit of S. Bernard.

Henry of Winchester was incessantly active throughout the troubles of the Civil War. Theobald came forward at the end quietly to settle the question that was left to decide. When it was agreed that Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son, should succeed Stephen, naturally enough it was Theobald who supplied some of the men who should help the new king to bring back to the

kingdom the firm government which his grandfather had maintained.

Henry II. began his work with a young man from the archbishop's school by his side. Thomas, son of Gilbert Becket, a London merchant, was inseparable from the king during the early years of the reign. Working together, they restored the courts of justice, the system of taxation and police, brought England forward again, with the Continental possessions of the king, among the nations of Europe, and set about great legal reforms.

All went well till Henry made his friend archbishop of Canterbury. Then it was seen that though each desired reform in Church and State, the root ideas of each were different.

The first quarrel was at Woodstock, on a matter of taxation. The chief conflict soon began, on the question whether Church or State should have the ultimate judgment of clergy who had broken the law. The clerical class was a very large one, and it included many whom we now regard merely as lay officials of the Church. Should all these be summoned before the lay courts, charged there with crime, then judged, if the bishop claimed them, in the Church courts, and then sent back to the lay courts to receive a civil punishment besides the ecclesiastical one which the Church court might have thought fit to inflict? This was what Henry claimed in *The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164*. But Archbishop Thomas declared that this would be giving two punishments for the same offence, contrary to the elementary principles of justice. No less strongly did he assert that the Church had the privilege of exclusively judging all clerical offenders. This was the question which caused the great quarrel between the two friends, which banished Becket from England, and which agitated Europe for many years.

Becket had a strong party on his side. He was an Englishman, and popular. He seemed to represent a cause which many of the clergy and people had learned to value—the claim of each class to have its own separate rights. But by no means all the clerical feeling was in his favour. The king had many bishops who stood by

him, some no doubt in hope of preferment, some from higher motives. The wisest and most unprejudiced chronicler of the day will not judge between them.

The quarrel was complicated by the king's foreign interests, and the pope steered a hesitating course between the combatants. At last, after many attempts at a compromise, matters were brought to a crisis by Henry making Roger, archbishop of York, crown his son Henry. It has always been the privilege of the see of Canterbury to crown English kings, and Becket was the last man in the world to give up his own rights or the rights of his office. The pope, who had from the first condemned the Constitutions of Clarendon, now at last pronounced decidedly against the king, and it was clear that he would be excommunicated. He gave way, and Becket returned to Canterbury. When the king saw how popular the archbishop was in England, and how strongly he still held by his principles and his claims, he repented of his concessions and uttered the angry words which led to the murder in Canterbury Cathedral on December 29, 1170.

The result of the murder and the horror which it evoked everywhere was that Henry had to yield every point that had been disputed. How much he practically gave up it is not very easy now to say. At any rate, he retained the appointment of bishops in his own hands, and he tried in his own courts any clergy who were charged with poaching. In other matters the Church probably won. Clerks were tried and punished by the Church's courts when they pleaded 'benefit of clergy.' And Becket's death for a time won peace. For nearly forty years there was no conflict between Church and State.

Becket's death marks an epoch in our Church history. The kings now recognised that so far as jurisdiction was concerned they must leave the Church to herself. They accepted the principle of William the Conqueror, that lay judges should not intrude themselves into what concerns the cure of souls, and that ecclesiastical persons, as well as things churchly, should be left to the rule of the clerical estate. This led to two results. In the first place, it

helped the political forces of England to group themselves definitely into three classes, recognised by the constitution as separate and homogeneous. The Church became the first estate of the realm. She had her own courts, her own laws, her own officers. At every point she acted upon, and was reacted upon by, the State. But she remained a separate, distinct organisation, the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, with her own distinct liberties, and her ministers were a separate class, if not a caste. In the same way the estates of the baronage and the commons asserted their own privileges and distinctions; and it is significant that it was just after the struggle which ended with the murder of S. Thomas, that we hear of 'the commons' as a separate and constituted class.

Secondly, the Church, as a separate estate, was supported in its position from the centre of Christian Europe. The popes, leaving for a time direct interference with the kings, dealt in friendly manner with the Church, asserting, wherever it was possible, a right to counsel and command. Henry II.'s justiciar would not allow their envoys to land in England without the king's consent, or without showing their letters, and no moneys were allowed to be collected for the pope's needs. But none the less the pope seemed the natural head of a separate and organised estate. Henry II. made peace with the pope. He conquered Ireland, or rather made settlements on its extremities, chiefly in the lands where the Norsemen had ruled before; and his conquest decided that the Irish Church should in all things follow the uses of the Church of England. He subdued the Scots, and he took part in a hot debate which vexed the Church of Scotland. A long contest about the King of Scots' appointment to the see of S. Andrews led to the reassertion of the claims of the archbishop of York to be metropolitan of the northern sees, and from that to a claim of the pope that he alone had supreme rule over the Scottish Church. For long the archbishops of Canterbury and York had contended for this supremacy, but at last the southern metropolitan had tacitly abandoned his claim. This squabble, for it was little better, lingered on till Scotland won her

freedom from the severe rules which Henry II. had enforced, and the see of York was no longer able to stretch its hand over the bishoprics beyond the Tweed. The development of Scotland continued to progress on feudal lines, and with the power of the civil law in her constitution, went the feudalisation of her Church. In England different principles brought out very different results.

Henry II. died under pledge of a crusade. Becket's two successors had not meddled with the State or the State with them. They were busy checking, or trying to check, the dangerous claims of the great monastic houses to exemption from Episcopal control; but Archbishop Baldwin (1184-1191) brought the Metropolitan authority of Canterbury to bear on Wales by visiting the whole country, preaching in the lonely valleys, and celebrating as primate in the four cathedrals of the Welsh. The ancient see of S. David's, whose splendid cathedral was now beginning to rise from the ground, through the reigns of Henry II. and his sons, endeavoured to assert its own independence and supremacy over the other Welsh sees; but Gerald de Barri, half Norman, half Welsh, whom the chapter more than once elected, was never allowed to become their bishop, and the Welsh Church had gradually submitted before Edward I. conquered the whole land.

The crusade which Henry II. planned, and Richard I. carried out, left England to the rule of Churchmen. The fabric of government which the Henrys had built was maintained so long as there lived clerks who had been trained at the court of Henry II. William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, in turn were the chief ministers of Richard I.; and though the first raised against him the hatred of clerk and lay alike, they kept the government firmly established over all causes and all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, till Richard I. was dead.

The reign of Richard, with its generous enthusiasm for the Holy War, which in its best aspect produced many noble religious characters among Englishmen, and

in its worst led to persecution of Jews and much needless bloodshed, gave England some years of internal peace, and saw among the bishops at least one notable saint. **Hugh of Avalon**, first prior of Witham, near Frome, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, lived a simple life of piety, asceticism, and courageous protection of his people. 'If the rest of the bishops were such as he,' said Cœur de Lion, 'no king or prince would dare to lift up his neck against them.' But other bishops were worldly, avaricious, immersed in State affairs, negligent of their vast dioceses, struggling with recalcitrant monasteries. If the clerical order flourished, religion most surely decayed.

The bitter satire of clerical wits prepares us for what was to happen. When Richard died, the worst of our kings found himself held in check by a statesmanlike archbishop and by a great pope. **Hubert Walter** (1191-1205) managed, with difficulty, to please **Innocent III.** and avoid open war with John. On his death, the election to the see ended the peace which had lasted since **Becket** fell. Three claims were put in to elect, by the king, the bishops, the Canterbury monks; and finally, **Innocent III.** himself, to whom each party had appealed, directed the last to choose **Stephen Langton**, an English priest, from among his own friends. John furiously plundered the monastery of Christ Church, and set the pope at defiance. The pope put England under an interdict. The king banished the bishops, put the clergy out of the law, seized their wives (for many were still married) and their goods, and by his tyranny broke up the University of Oxford. Then he was himself excommunicated. The results of this act were as important as those of **Becket's** murder. John made peace with the pope, promised to restore all he had stolen, received back the bishops, and surrendered his kingdom into the hands of the Roman See to be held as a fief.

This was the great triumph of the papacy in England. The policy of **William I.** was reversed. The pope was formally declared by the king, claiming the assent of the barons, to be supreme over England, and he, under

his rule, had at his back a compact and organised estate. From this moment there were, more or less clearly marked at different dates, two parties in England. (1) Stephen Langton, the new archbishop, did his utmost to preserve English liberties, and was suspended by the pope for his support of Magna Carta. John promised that the clergy should freely elect their bishops, and the great Charter declared the freedom of the English Church. And the translation of the bones of St. Thomas declared the dignity of the new and great English saint. (2) On the other side, bishops looked to Rome for support and advancement, and monasteries looked to be freed from the control of their bishops.

From Magna Carta onwards, 1215-1253, we notice the working out of the papal supremacy. In Scotland the popes were able through English weakness to definitely establish their direct supremacy. The friars whom Alexander II., 1214-1249, warmly supported, were strong advocates of the pope's claims; and as the years went on Scotland became more papal, and at the same time her bishops became more secularised and her Church more corrupt. Good and wise popes preserved England to the young Henry III., recognised the Charter, helped the State to govern and the Church to teach. But they began to flood England with foreigners, appointing, wherever and whenever they could, Italians to English sees and livings, and looking to Englishmen to support their needs by a constant and ruinous taxation. At the same time Langton turned earnestly to the work of Church Reform.

The most potent agent of Reform was the new movement that came from abroad. From 1220-1224 the mendicant orders of S. Dominic (Black Friars) and S. Francis (Grey Friars), followed by the Carmelites (White Friars) and Austin Friars, spread over England, settling among the masses of untouched population by the larger towns, ministering to the sick, preaching to the whole, and gradually becoming masters of intellectual as well as spiritual work. The work of the friars gave the Church to the people and the people to the Church. Two saintly prelates showed the same spirit of holiness

and self-sacrifice in high places. Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury (1233-1240), and Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253), led simple lives, and withstood the king and the pope in their unlawful deeds. The land was being robbed right and left; S. Edmund went into banishment rather than consent to it. Robert Grosseteste encouraged the friars, triumphed over the monks, and refused to obey the papal commands as 'not to edification, but to most manifest destruction.'

Under the inspiration of this great man, the clergy and the commons protested against the pope's demands, and the popular songs which the friars wrote and the people chanted, re-echoed the protest on behalf of the English nation and the English Church. Even Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury (1243-1272), the queen's uncle, who began as a grasping robber, learned, from Grosseteste doubtless, to withstand the worst acts of the pope and the king. And in the reformation which now spread over the Church, there was much of the spirit of him who 'had been an open rebuker of pope and king, the corrector of bishops, the reformer of monks, the instructor of the clergy, the persecutor of the incontinent, a careful reader of the Scriptures, the hammer of the Romans whom he despised.'

After Grosseteste's death the country became more and more disturbed, and during the Barons' War, Church life was at a standstill. Simon de Montfort, the leader of the barons, was a religious man, but he had much of the persecuting spirit of his father, who had led a crusade against heretics in Southern Gaul. In the chronicles of the time he appears as 'zealous for the law,' a defender of Church and people, watchful, temperate, austere; yet a persecutor of Jews, 'not free from the guilt of robbery and murder.'

It is to this time that there belongs the most famous of the many strange stories in which the popular dislike to the Jews, who, it may be remembered, were then the only 'dissenters,' found expression. In 1255 it is said that the Jews of Lincoln, a wealthy colony, of whom there is still a memorial in a fine stone house yet

standing, stole a boy named Hugh, and did him to death in mockery of the Passion and Crucifixion. Such stories show the violence of public feeling, of which Earl Simon took advantage when he plundered the Jews. The clergy discouraged the persecution, the more perhaps because they themselves suffered constantly from the extortion of papal legates. Constant demands for money to support the pope's dignity and the pope's wars, the intrusion of foreigners into English livings, the power of the king's foreign kinsfolk, Boniface of Savoy (archbishop of Canterbury) and Aymer of Valence (bishop elect of Winchester), made the condition of the clergy and the monks intolerable, and called loudly for reform. At the great Council of Oxford, 1258, it was ordered that 'the state of the Holy Church be amended,' but little or nothing was done, and as the political troubles grew the religious difficulties seem to have been forgotten. Yet the reforming work of the friars continued, and from within, rather than from without, the Church gained new strength. After 1266 the land was again at peace, and though there was an attempt to reverence Simon de Montfort as a saint, the Church suppressed it, since he died excommunicate. In spite of this, the war had shown that the Church belonged to no party, for bishops had been of both sides, and of the monastic chroniclers some were enthusiastic for the barons' cause, some steadfast supporters of the king. Henry III.'s long reign came to an end in 1272. It had sorely embittered the feelings of Englishmen against the Roman court. It had impoverished and degraded the Church. But noble works of conversion, of healing, and of education had been done by the new mendicant orders, and saintly lives were still lived in high places as well as among the poor, as the history of S. Richard of Chichester, whom the English Church still remembers in her calendar, may show.

The reign of Edward I. was an important one for the Church. The king was from the first in want of money, and he turned, like his predecessors, to the Church for more than lawful aid. The wool of the Cistercian monks was often seized, the small income of the parish

priests and the large rents of the bishops were heavily taxed. A new valuation of Church property was made about 1291, and three years later Edward actually demanded one-half of the revenues of the clergy. The king tried to make the clergy send representatives to the National Parliament, partly because he wished that every estate should be represented, partly because it would be easier then to tax them. But the clerical representatives rarely attended, and the Church always continued to tax herself in her Convocations. In 1296 the pope forbade the clergy to pay taxes; the king then outlawed all the clergy. The deadlock between Church and State came at a time of great political difficulty, and the king had to own himself wrong. But Archbishop Winchelsea, who had championed the Church, now gracefully yielded, and declared that the clergy could freely give of their goods to the king. These money troubles, though the most important, were not the only causes of dispute between Church and king. In 1279 the Statute of Mortmain was passed, which made it illegal to grant lands to churches or to any corporations. For centuries there were attempts to evade this, and more recently it was frequently dispensed with by royal charter. The demands of the pope did not grow less severe as time went on, and the Statute of Carlisle in 1307 forbade all collection for them in England.

Edward and his successors clearly tried their best to restrain foreign interference with the Church, but their efforts were for the most part ineffectual. In 1326 it is recorded that more than half of the cathedral patronage belonging to the bishop of Salisbury had been filled up by the pope. In 1307 the Knights Templar, a military and religious order which had great power in England, were attacked, and before long they were suppressed. The friars within a century of their foundation had become unpopular: the zeal for endowing monasteries showed a perceptible diminution. It was significant that Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester, when he founded a college at Oxford, forbade its members to enter any religious order. Men's minds

under Edward II. and Edward III. were occupied with foreign wars, and with terrible distress within their own land.

The great pestilence, which began in 1348, transformed the face of England, and weakened the Church beyond recovery for many a year. The archbishop of Canterbury and many of the prominent ecclesiastics fell victims. While it is probable that nearly half the population was carried off, the mortality among the clergy was in a much higher proportion.

The social distress, the lack of teachers, the constant irritation against the demands of Rome, which the two famous Statutes of Provisors, 1351, against papal patronage, and *Praemunire*, 1393, against papal jurisdiction, were not able to allay, led to a new movement for reform which was directed against much which the Church held dear. The universities had become representative of the intellect of the country, and of its religion, and in Oxford arose John Wyclif (1320-1384), a man of great learning and remarkable power of expression, both in English and Latin, who could argue with the learned on their own ground, and arouse the people in the vulgar tongue.

Wyclif's writings, which had a European influence even more durable than that which they exercised on his native land, attacked the papal power, poured scorn and contempt on the friars as 'children of the devil,' and on monasticism as useless, declared that the Church should hold no property, and finally denied the doctrine of the Transubstantiation of the elements at the Holy Communion. He sent 'poor preachers' throughout the land to propagate his views, and in the disturbed state of public feeling his social doctrines were naturally strained to encourage revolution. Condemned himself, but still able to hold his own, long protected by John of Gaunt, uncle of the king, and by the University of Oxford, and supported by many thinkers zealous for reform, Wyclif escaped all punishment, and died in peace at his living, Lutterworth, December 28, 1384.

The rebellion of 1381 brought his teachings into disrepute. His followers, discredited and persecuted, and

mixed up, during the next half-century, with political movements, which made the State regard them as a constant danger, dwindled away and practically died out. But his translation of the Bible into English, a work which the Church had attempted but never carried out, his vigorous sermons, and his powerful theological treatises, retained their influence long after his life was forgotten, and profoundly influenced many of the leaders of the great reformation of the sixteenth century.

The age from Grosseteste to Wyclif is one of increasing confusion in the Church, of increasing difficulties, due to the aggression and the scandals of the papacy. Its best men felt that a reformation was needed, but as yet every attempt to make one was unsuccessful. After his death Wyclif's attempt to reform the Church died away. His opinions were rejected by the mass of Englishmen, and his schemes were defeated. His followers were nicknamed the Lollards (meaning, probably, 'canting fellows'), and they were felt to be a political danger. Parliament passed a law punishing heresy by death—the statute *de haeretico comburendo* (1401), which made legal in England the horrible sentence of burning which had long been given in foreign lands. Heretics were to be tried by the bishop's court, but punished by the State. The statute was made still more severe in 1414.

During the rest of the fifteenth century there was peace between Church and State. The popes strengthened their power in England by making the archbishops and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, kinsman of Henry VI., their legates, or representatives, and succeeding in exercising authority through them which they could not have exercised directly themselves. But the tide of opposition in Rome rose steadily. At the universities, from time to time, protests were raised against new papal appointments or new papal exactions. Reginald Pecock, bishop and controversialist, opposed the Lollards, but with such freedom of argument that he found himself condemned by the Church. Students wrote against the papal power. Plain men denounced the evils of the non-residence of statesmen-bishops, the poverty of the parishes, the idleness of friars, the luxury of monks, and the absence of

resident priests through the grant of benefices to monasteries. It is clear that there was a very strong feeling of discontent, practical rather than doctrinal, rising against the government of the Church. During the Wars of the Roses the feeling was in the background. It came to the front when a solid government was established under Henry VII.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMATION

THE English Reformation was the result of many causes, and, if it was not long foreseen, it was long prepared for. For a long time kings and parliaments had resented the claim of the popes to interfere in English affairs and to control the English Church. It was a common saying that everything could be bought at Rome, and the heavy expenses of all ecclesiastical appointments and appeals were felt by many in England, from the kings to the poor clergy. The long civil wars had everywhere caused disturbance, suffering, and discontent, and a general feeling of insecurity. No man's life, it seemed, was safe while the Wars of the Roses spread over the land, and in the country districts the powers of the Church had sunk very low, and men seemed to do what was right in their own eyes, without control of law or religion. The higher clergy obtained their appointments almost always through their powerful kinsmen or their services to the State, and they were too much concerned in politics to be respected by the people. In 1450 two bishops were murdered for political reasons, and there was no great stir made about it. The lesser clergy were not conspicuous for their good lives. The monasteries, though generally well conducted, were often in a condition of financial insecurity. The friars had long, as a body, lost popular confidence. The Church was politically, morally, and spiritually weak.

When Henry VII. came to the throne in 1485, it was clear that some changes were necessary. Morton, his chief minister, who became archbishop of Canterbury, made strict investigations and dissolved some of the monasteries, on

account of grave scandals. Warham, the next archbishop, followed his example. There was a serious attempt to reform abuses from within. The bishops visited and censured, the preachers protested and showed the better way. But still the outward prosperity of the Church stifled any effectual reformation. The Church was popular, it seems, just in proportion as her work was ineffective. The end of the Middle Ages was a great era of church-building. The magnificent Perpendicular churches which are found in so many of the English towns and villages, which were prosperous in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., show that the rich merchants and the craftsmen were keen supporters of the Church. The monasteries and churches had much treasure of gold and silver: an Italian observer spoke of the great Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian monasteries in England as 'more like baronial than religious houses.'

Outwardly, then, the Church in England was strong, but she was completely at the mercy of the State. Inwardly she was weak, not only on account of the absence of fervour among the clergy, but because she was divided. One party was intensely conservative, clinging to superstitions which keen-witted men derided, obedient to the popes even at a time of degradation of the papacy, averse to the new learning which was slowly reaching England from Italy. A second party was alive to all the influences of the Renaissance, full of interest in Biblical study, in Greek, and in Church reform, but thoroughly loyal to the Catholic faith. And there was gradually arising a third party, ill instructed but enthusiastic, which was ready, not only to throw off the papal yoke, but also to break in many respects with the historic traditions of the Christian Church.

As the Tudors became firmly seated on the throne, as their power, under Wolsey, increased abroad as well as at home, and as the people found that they represented and fostered all their material interests of trade, of discovery, and learning, it came to depend entirely on the king's will what form the English Reformation, in its beginnings, should take. But the kings' power went no further. They could not have stopped a reformation,

for the bishops (such as Morton and Warham, Fox and Wolsey) were determined to reform. They could not have prevented a separation, at least to a very considerable extent, from Rome, for the laity were determined to restrict the pope's powers, and the clergy chafed under the intolerable financial burdens he laid on them, and resented the constant appointment of foreigners, who never intended to be resident, to English benefices. A reformation in England was absolutely certain, though few Englishmen and no foreigners foresaw it. A Venetian ambassador in England under Henry VII. regarded the clergy as supreme in war and peace, and the people as almost stupidly loyal to the Church. England seemed to be more insular and isolated than ever. Henry VII. desired, it is said, to 'make a brazen wall round his dominions,' and it might seem as if this would exclude religious as well as political influences from abroad. But it was impossible to check the national discontent with Rome, or the longing of earnest men for the reform of abuses, or the literary influences, liberating and widening, of the revival of learning. An English Reformation was inevitable. Its guidance would inevitably fall into the hands of the strongest power, and that was the monarchy.

In the west and the north it was different. Wales was now practically at one with England, now ruled by kings of Welsh blood. But it was not favourable to reformation; and when the king set himself to dissolve monasteries and to give their property to laymen, he had but very little support in Wales. Under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the Reformation made little progress among the Welsh, but the spoliation impoverished the Church beyond recovery.

In Scotland the need of moral reformation was far more prominent than south of the Tweed. The bishops, often employed in State affairs, and generally of royal or noble descent, were unworthy to rule or guide the Church. The monasteries were often corrupt and secular. The relations of James IV. with Pope Alexander VI. are a shocking example of the corruption that reigned almost unchecked in the Scottish Church. Canons were broken

at will by king and pope, money was unblushingly given and received, and the flock of Christ, committed sometimes to the care of mere children, was neglected and unfed. Under such circumstances there can be no wonder that the Scottish reformers, if religious men, resolved to destroy Romanism root and branch, and that with it they destroyed the ancient orders of the Apostolic ministry, and still less surprise that the barons regarded a reformation merely as the occasion for spoiling the Church.

Very great importance attaches to the Reformation under Henry VIII., because it swept away much that was never restored, much that all reformers, whether Catholic or Protestant, wished to see put away. But the importance may easily be exaggerated. For the changes made in the following reigns were in many ways equally great. Much was put back, much more was taken away. The final form in which the English Church organised its reformed constitution was not reached till the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Morton and Warham were followed by Wolsey, who, though only archbishop of York, had great power over the whole of England as legate of the pope. He suppressed several monasteries and founded colleges, following the example of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, and of the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII. He was in full sympathy with the new learning, and it is likely that if no further disturbance had occurred he might have succeeded in bringing the English Church into harmony with the wants of the people. But the movement for reform became complicated by the private affairs of Henry VIII. This king, himself a learned theologian and the opponent on the Catholic side of the German reformer Martin Luther—for which opposition he received from the pope the title of Defender of the Faith—became troubled by political difficulties, by the want of an heir, and by religious scruples as to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. This marriage, contrary to the law of the Catholic Church, had received the sanction of a papal 'dispensation.' Divorce was

impossible in the Western Church, and Henry now sought a declaration from the pope that his marriage, in spite of papal authority for it, was absolutely null, being contrary to law. From 1527 to 1533 Henry was engaged in trying every means he could think of to procure a declaration of the nullity of his marriage. The pope avoided giving a decision, and at last Henry, supported by the opinion of many learned theologians that no power could dispense from the Divine law forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's wife, sought the advice of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. These both decided, in 1533, that his marriage was illegal. Even before this decision he was married to Anne Bullen. Thomas Cranmer, who had chiefly advised him in the later stages of the affair, was now appointed archbishop of Canterbury. Wolsey, who had done his best for the king but was no favourite of the new queen, was already disgraced. Henry's violent breach with the papacy and the appointment of the new archbishop gave a special direction to the reformation that was now in full progress.

Already much had been done. Early in the reign of Henry VIII. the freedom of the clergy of whatever degree from any courts but their own, which had become a source of great discontent and indignation among the laity, was restricted (though only for a year). The Church courts also were unpopular, on account of their excessive charges and their interference with the laity on every pretext. This unpopularity, and the increase of modern learning in England, were two very efficient causes leading to a strong movement for reform of the Church from without. The opinions of the foreign reformers spread to England, and though they had not at first any great influence, they tended to increase the feeling of unrest and to strengthen the king's hands when he undertook to destroy the pope's power. So far the great majority of Englishmen were with him, though they were indifferent or hostile to the declaration of the nullity of his marriage.

In 1529 a Parliament met which represented a large body of opinion, and was willing to assist Henry in all his plans. It proceeded to pass many acts against

the pope's power. Among these were acts forbidding appeals to Rome and making it penal to introduce papal bulls and to sell the pope's pardons or indulgences; and when Wolsey was overthrown, the whole people of the land were declared to be outlawed for having accepted him as pope's legate, contrary to the Statute of *Praemunire*. For this the clergy had to pay heavily; and in 1531 the Convocations of Canterbury and York formally agreed that the king was 'the singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and as far as is permitted by the law of Christ, even the supreme head' of the Church of England. Henry expressly declared that he claimed no spiritual power; and the act was accepted by the great majority of Englishmen as merely declaratory of the claim always made by the English kings.

In 1532 Parliament passed an act, confirmed in 1534, suspending the payment of *Annates* to Rome: they were transferred to the king. In the same year Convocation accepted the principle asserted by William the Conqueror, and agreed not to enact canons without the king's licence, or enforce them without his consent. At this point the king's marriage question came into the dispute with Rome, and here again the clergy took the king's side. In 1533 an act was passed restricting appeals to Rome. Thus in 1534 England and Rome were separated, and the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, had assumed something of the position which Urban II. had attributed to S. Anselm, of 'pope of another world.' In 1534 the position of the English Church was confirmed by the abolition of all appeals to Rome, of confirmation of bishops by the pope, and the rejection of all dispensations from him, and by the declaration of the Convocations that the 'bishop of Rome hath not by Scripture any greater jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop.' Parliament then confirmed the king's assumption of the supremacy. In 1536 the 'authority of the Bishop of Rome' was extirpated by statute.

In much of this, in spite of the violence with which he acted, Henry carried the whole Church and State with him. It was different when he came to carry the statutes into execution. He delegated his ecclesiastical

supremacy to a vicegerent, Thomas Cromwell, who acted in an utterly unprincipled and reckless manner. He beheaded Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, two of the holiest men in England, and several monks, for some offence against the Act of Supremacy. He sent commissioners to visit the monasteries, and in 1536 suppressed all those that had an income of less than two hundred pounds a year. This caused a rebellion in the north (the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536), which was sternly put down. In 1536 the Ten Articles were issued. These were approved by Convocation, and they stated the doctrine of the Church of England to be based on the Bible, the Creeds, and the first four councils, and to affirm the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, omitting all reference to the medieval doctrine of Transubstantiation. In 1538 and 1539 all the greater monasteries were made to surrender their property to the king, and Parliament dissolved all religious houses. From this date Henry was supreme. Under his direction Protestants, following the views of Luther or of Zwingli, were burned. Acts of Parliament enforced the king's will, and the Church was powerless to withstand it. In 1539 Parliament passed the Act of the Six Articles, affirming many doctrines of the Medieval Church (which Convocation recognised as accurate), and decreeing death by burning to all who denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation. From that year till the king's death in 1547 his power was exercised against any who disputed his ecclesiastical supremacy. Many were executed for denying it, as also for denying Transubstantiation or asserting the authority of the pope. Efforts were now made to teach the people. The Bible was issued in a translation authorised by the king in 1538, a book of Christian Doctrine (*The Institution of a Christian Man*) was put out in 1537, another (*The Erudition of a Christian Man*) in 1543, and a *Primer* of devotion in 1545. With this we may regard Henry VIII's Reformation as ended: and we may sum up its results:—

1. The Church of England decisively rejected the supremacy of the pope in all matters in which it was repudiated by the law of the land.
2. The Church recognised the royal supremacy

'so far as the law of Christ allows'; and the claim of freedom from Rome long made by king and people, and the powers exercised by them from time to time ever since the beginning of English history, were formally declared lawful by Church and State.

3. The Church of England formally dissociated itself from any action of foreign reformers, claimed to have the right to govern and reform itself, and asserted its determination not 'to separate from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church.'

While Henry VIII. and the English bishops were reforming the Church in England and separating it from Rome, in Scotland also the long-needed Reformation had begun. There the wealth of the Church had been increased without any deepening of her spiritual life. In 1472 S. Andrews was made an archbishopric, and Glasgow in 1492. The first archbishop of S. Andrews appears to have made an attempt at reform, but he was quickly deposed. There were some really active bishops, such as Elphinstone, the founder of the University of Aberdeen in 1494. But other bishops were concerned in the worst abuses. Thus the Reformation soon fell into the hands of the nobles, whose aims were selfish and irreligious, and who were eager to oust the prelates from the State offices which they had largely engrossed, and to seize the lands of the Church and the wealth of the monasteries. The teaching of the foreign reformers, too, was readily taken up in Scotland; a preacher of Lutheran opinions, Patrick Hamilton, was burned for heresy; and many trials, most of them ending in death, marked the reign of James V. (1513-1542).

Cardinal Beaton, who might have reformed the Church, being a powerful statesman as well as archbishop of S. Andrews, was murdered at the instigation of the nobles, and with the secret encouragement of Henry VIII., in 1546. To complete the confusion, the crown was now held by a child, Mary Queen of Scots, whose French mother, Mary of Guise, was regent, and civil war spread over the land.

The Scottish Reformation was consummated by the work of John Knox. Himself a minister of the Church,

he was led by abhorrence for the vices of the clergy, by a keen sympathy with the poor folk whose souls were unfed, and by a narrow and enthusiastic reception of the teaching of the most extreme foreign reformers, to throw himself heart and soul into the task of destroying the old Church and raising up a new body in its place. The people were ready to follow him. Everywhere they 'lightlied the mass,' ceased to attend the services of the Church, and openly disregarded Sunday. The nobles were eager to break down and destroy and to enter on the spoil. So long as Henry VIII. lived the Scots reformers might have received assistance from him, and many of the nobles were ready to sell their country into his hands. But when he died, the political difficulties between the nations helped to keep their religious leaders apart; and though Knox was for some time in England, he returned to his own land more determined than ever on a work of destruction. Church synods again and again passed canons ordering the strictest reforms. Archbishop Hamilton (1547-1571) put forth a catechism of Christian doctrine in the vulgar tongue without any mention of Rome or the pope. But such measures were in vain in the face of a determined Protestant party, powerful nobles, a weak if not wicked queen, and, most of all, the evil lives of those who themselves should have led the movement for reform. The Protestant party, whose noble leaders called themselves 'the lords of the congregation,' triumphed. Parliament, under their influence and fired by the oratory of John Knox, destroyed at one blow all the privileges, the worship, and the wealth of the Church. 'On the morning of the 25th of August 1560 the hierarchy was supreme, in the evening of the same day Calvinistic Protestantism was established in its stead.'

The destruction of the Church was accompanied by more lawlessness than was shown in any other land where Protestantism made its way. Everywhere the churches were robbed and the monasteries destroyed. 'Down with the crows' nests,' Knox is said to have cried, 'or the crows will build in them again.' It is impossible to estimate the amount of the destruction

of fine buildings and beautiful works of art. The brutality of the people and the greed of the nobles turned what might have been a work of reform into a wholesale destruction.

The Scottish Reformation established itself through violence, treason, and civil war. Mary queen of Scots, never deserting the Roman obedience, had to steer her course between political and religious rivalries of the most dangerous kind. She clung to every shred of power, but the nobles tore all from her. She tried every scheme of concession or of stubbornness to save the essentials of the Church, but she was helpless in the face of Knox, who 'neither flattered nor feared any flesh.'

Gradually Knox built up a new polity, of the strictest Calvinistic sort. Holy orders were replaced by a 'call' from a congregation and admission to office by the neighbouring minister. The laying on of hands was declared unnecessary. Stern discipline was set up to reform the morals of the people and to punish ministers, 'the eyes and mouth of the Kirk.' Schools were founded and endowed, and the new clergy were given possession of the churches of those who refused to accept the Book of Discipline and the Book of Common Order. But the endowments of the parishes were lost, and the ministers of the new 'Kirk' had hardly enough to support life.

The difference between the English Reformation and the Scottish is easy to discern. The former was undertaken by men who disclaimed all intention of breaking the unity of Christ's Church, and who deliberately rejected the most prominent characteristics of foreign Protestantism. The latter was avowedly and irreconcilably hostile to Catholicism. Scotland had for centuries in Church matters been alike papal and corrupt, and at the same time there had been no national protests against the papacy. In England a long chain of anti-Roman legislation showed the feeling of the laity, and many protests testified to the same sentiment among the clergy. The English Church and State alike were ready for a separation from Rome, but neither desired that the national Church should be destroyed. In

England the people were friendly to the clergy: in Scotland the two were deadly foes. In England the Reformation was the work of many classes and many minds: in Scotland it practically depended entirely upon the greedy nobles and on one commanding religious leader with his followers. In England Church and crown held together: in Scotland the sovereign and the national religion went different ways.

If the chief mark of the early English Reformation was its conservatism, and of the Scottish its Protestantism, the Church in Wales was reformed chiefly by robbery. The nationality of the people was ignored. Henry VIII.'s rejection of Rome was accepted without demur, and English bishops under that king and his son familiarised the people with the changes that were most patent. But chief of all results was the practical disendowment of the Welsh Church. The monasteries had engrossed the revenues of the parishes more than in England, and these revenues were now transferred almost entirely to lay owners. The Welsh monasteries were far more numerous in proportion than the English, and the loss in spiritual provision, as well as in actual buildings used for sacred purposes, was proportionately greater. At the period of the Reformation the Welsh sees were held either by persons of doubtful character employed in politics (as Bishop Rawlins of S. David's) or by insignificant ecclesiastics, or by those who were rapidly transferred to other posts. The Reformation gave to Wales no new sees and no new endowments. But two Welsh bishops stand out as being instruments of the preservation of Catholic continuity. It was Bishop Barlow, who had been consecrated to S. David's in 1536 according to the old English (Sarum) rite, who was the chief consecrator of Archbishop Parker in 1559. And Anthony Kitchin, consecrated bishop of Llandaff in 1545, retained his see through all the changes till his death in 1563. Thus Barlow is a prominent example of the continuity of the Apostolic succession in the English Church, and Kitchin of the maintenance of canonical jurisdiction.

In 1547 Henry VIII. died. His son Edward VI. was a child, under the influence of self-seeking nobles whose

attachment to Protestant opinions was largely influenced by their desire to enrich themselves. His short reign was therefore the time during which the English Church had the most Protestant aspect that she ever bore; and it was marked by spoliation even more complete than that of Henry VIII. The characteristic of the reign of Edward VI. is the absolute control claimed by the State over the Church in every way. It was a claim often made in the past and as often resisted, and a later reaction was to reject it again, but meanwhile the Church passed into subjection for two reigns. The bishops were required to take out new licences to exercise their jurisdiction. This was a practical assertion of the royal supremacy, but it disclaimed all interference with the Scriptural authority of the episcopate. The endowments of religious guilds and chantry chapels (where prayers had been said for the souls of the departed) were confiscated. The king's council in 1550 ordered the altars to be taken down and, 'instead of them, a table to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel within every church.' Royal visitations compelled the observance of the new order. Convocation and then Parliament released the clergy from the obligation to celibacy. Foreign Protestants were now made welcome in England. Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, had become more and more interested in their writings and inclined to accept their opinions. Three prominent foreigners came to England and greatly influenced the primate—Peter Martyr, an Italian, who was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Martin Bucer, a German, who received a like post at Cambridge, and John a Lasco, a Pole, who received charge of the foreign communities in London. Bucer died in 1549: the others left England at the king's death. Knox, too, was for some time in England, and had some power among the advisers of change.

While the English Church was thus, by State interference, by the political and religious sympathies of her primate, and by the influx of foreign renegades from Catholicism, led in the direction of extreme Protestantism, she was not without compensating influences on the other side. The general feeling of the Church was so

strongly against the extremists, that it was found impossible to fill up five of the sees that fell vacant.

This feeling was embodied in the books of common prayer that were now put forth for use in all dioceses. In 1549 was put forth, by royal authority and claiming the authority of 'the learned men of this our realm in their synods and convocations provincial,' the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. This was largely the work of Cranmer, and almost entirely the composition of Englishmen and from English sources. The old English service-books (particularly those of Sarum) were compared with early liturgies (especially the Eastern liturgies) and with recent Roman and Lutheran revisions of the ancient books. The great aim of the work seems to have been the restoration of Catholic simplicity. Medieval accretions and complications were swept away. The services, now in English, were made such as all men could understand and follow. 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass' is the title given to the English office for the consecration and administration of the Body and Blood of Christ. This was rearranged from ancient liturgies, but all the prominent features were retained. At the same time it was made clear that the Latin service was regarded as overloaded with superstitions, and that it was the aim of the Church to substitute for the title 'mass,' by which the Holy Sacrament was 'commonly called,' that which would recall to men's minds the essential features of the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood. It was designed to make the whole book one for people as well as priests. With this aim the daily services were compressed into the offices of morning and evening prayer, the Bible was much more freely used, and points associated with superstition, such as the direct invocation of saints, were omitted. It is quite clear that the compilers wished to retain the immemorial setting of the great Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and that they desired above all things to conform to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the primitive Church. In 1550 the form of ordination to the ministry was also Englished and simplified.

In 1552 the Prayer Book of 1549 was revised, and in a Protestant direction. The word 'mass' was omitted altogether, and the ancient vestments were forbidden. Public forms of confession and absolution, which still remain, were added. This book is known as the Second Prayer Book.

These latter changes were the result partly of Cranmer's desire to make peace with all parties and his liking for the foreigners, and partly of the influence of the State. The Second Prayer Book (of 1552) had no ecclesiastical sanction, and probably it was never put into use, or only in a very few places. It was authorised by Parliament in an Act of Uniformity, following on an earlier Act (1549) establishing the use of the First Book.

Edward's death, and the brief reign of his cousin, 'Jane the Queen,' mark the critical period of the English movement for reform. The power of the State was in the hands of extreme but utterly unprincipled Protestants, and there was every sign of desire to break completely with the historic past of the Church.

But the political loyalty of Englishmen dethroned Jane and placed Mary, the child of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, on the throne. Like her mother she was a firm adherent of the papacy, and her first thought was reunion with Rome. By royal injunctions and Acts of Parliament the legislation of Edward VI. was swept away, and the Church was brought back into the position it occupied in the last years of Henry VIII. The chief bishops, including Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were declared guilty of heresy, and held in prison. The Queen married her kinsman Philip of Spain, and another kinsman, Reginald Pole, was sent by the pope as legate to 'reconcile' England to Rome. The old statutes against the Lollards were revived, but the monasteries were not restored, and an Act of Parliament confirmed their confiscated property to its possessors. The married clergy were everywhere deprived, or at least required to abandon their wives. By 1555, the work of Henry VIII.'s reformation, save only as regards the monasteries and the assumption of very considerable powers of ecclesiastical supremacy by the crown, was undone.

'The claims to administer the affairs of the Church, to be the chief ordinary of the Church, and to be the source of jurisdiction in the Church were unknown to the law and the constitution in the Middle Ages, and were given up by Mary and never again claimed, though part of the authority which was connected with them lasted on till 1641.' Mary set up a Court of High Commission to carry out the ecclesiastical laws, and it was by virtue of the royal supremacy that she deprived bishops; but otherwise she did not directly interfere with the powers of the Convocations or Parliament.

The re-establishment of the Roman power was followed by a persecution which has made Mary's reign infamous in English history. Without the slightest political ground, and mainly for rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, more than two hundred and eighty persons were burned in sixteen English dioceses. Of these four were bishops, Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer. In Wales, Bishop Farrar of S. David's also perished at the stake. Ridley and Latimer were burned at Oxford on October 16, 1555. The last words of the latter long rang in Englishmen's ears, and were triumphantly vindicated within three years by the abolition of the papal supremacy for ever. 'Be of good cheer, Master Ridley,' he said, 'and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out.' Cranmer was condemned by the pope. He recanted many of his opinions, but at length on March 21, 1556, he was burned at Oxford.

He was succeeded by Cardinal Pole, in spite of whose mildness of disposition the burnings went on. Besides the prominent men who suffered, many fanatics and ultra-Protestants died for their faith; and however little the majority of Englishmen sympathised with their opinions, there was but one feeling as to the cruelty of their punishment. In the last year of her life Mary had contrived to alienate every friend. She was at issue with the pope, who wished to supersede Pole, and she refused to allow any intercourse with Rome. Her husband left her to die alone. Her people even prayed

for her death, that the persecution might cease. On November 17, 1558, she passed away, and the next day Pole followed her to the grave.

There was never any doubt as to what would happen at her death. The whole land joyfully welcomed Elizabeth, King Henry's only surviving child, and already trusted her sagacity and moderation. Her work was clearly set before her. It was the completion of the long movement for ecclesiastical reform.—(1) Under Henry VIII. the nation had repudiated the papal supremacy. (2) Under Edward VI. common prayer and the celebration of the sacraments in English had been won, as well as the liberty of the clergy to marry. (3) Under Mary the abolition, for those days, of the monasteries which had engrossed so much of the parochial endowments was legally confirmed. (4) It remained for Elizabeth to procure the settlement of the Church in its national independence.

Under Elizabeth the long movement of the Reformation reached its most important crisis. She was determined to have a National Church in a National State, and in this determination she had the vast majority of her people with her. She declared that she would rule with the power of supreme governor of the Church of England, and that she meant by that phrase, 'the authority under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, of what estate, ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.'

The first necessity of the reign was to secure that the pope should no longer execute jurisdiction in England. His power was repudiated by the Supremacy Act, 1559, and the English service was restored (the Prayer Book of 1552 revised in a sense accordant with the ancient teaching of the Church) by the Act of Uniformity. The bishops who had been intruded into sees by Mary's authority were turned out when they refused to take the oath of supremacy. The bishops who had been unlawfully turned out returned to their sees, and steps were at once taken to fill the many vacancies due to death and deprivation. Matthew Parker, head of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a learned and moderate man, after

being canonically elected by the chapter, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on December 17, 1559, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, by Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, Scory, bishop of Chichester, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkin, suffragan-bishop of Thetford. The first two of these had themselves been consecrated under Henry VIII., the others under Edward VI. Thus, as Pole had been lawfully consecrated to succeed Cranmer, Parker was lawfully consecrated to succeed Pole, the vacancies having occurred in each case by death. The form of consecration used was English, but taken directly from the pontifical (or office-book for consecration of bishops) used before the Reformation.

Parker, after his consecration, consecrated eleven bishops to the vacant sees. The State now took in hand the enforcement of uniformity, and the securing of assent to the royal supremacy. Though now a great number of the clergy had been appointed under Mary in accordance with papal rules, there were very few objectors. Out of over nine thousand clergy, not more than two hundred were deprived for refusal to accept the reformation directed by Elizabeth and Parker. It seemed at first as if religious peace was probable. The vast majority of clergy and laity joyfully accepted the changes which gave English services and freedom to the National Church. The king of Spain, husband of the late queen, was anxious to ally with Elizabeth. Even the pope was not anxious to break with England.

Years were now spent in a careful and thorough preparation of articles and formularies for the Church. The XXXIX Articles, reduced and revised from the XLII put out under Edward VI., were issued in 1571; and while definitely rejecting Roman errors such as the plural 'sacrifices of masses,' held fast to the ancient Catholic doctrine and the authority of the Church in controversies of faith. The Homilies (to be read when the minister did not preach an original sermon) were published in the same year, and upheld the same doctrinal standards.

But before long the Church was beset by two serious

dangers, the one chiefly religious, the other largely caused by politics. The bishops ordered by canon (a legal enactment for the Church) that preachers should teach nothing but what was agreeable to the Scriptures, and had been collected therefrom by 'the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops.' But there was a strong party, fed largely from Scotland, Germany, and Switzerland, where many English Churchmen had found refuge during the persecution of Mary, which wished, like the reformers of those countries, to make a complete breach with the past, to make a new Church, to break the succession. This party was represented even among the bishops. Calvin, the greatest constructive theologian among the reformers, supplied a system which was easily learned and was attractive in its logical coherence to the scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Objection was raised by many to the use of the ancient vestments as prescribed under Edward VI., and now again by Elizabeth's Prayer Book. A party grew up, called the Puritans, who objected both to the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Some of the parish priests were content with the minimum of conformity, and some with actual disobedience to the Church rules. In 1566, Parker put out a book of *Advertisements*, by which he insisted on the use of the surplice in all churches, and of the cope in cathedrals, but did not mention the further vestments required by the Prayer Book. This did not satisfy the Puritans. They were largely represented in Parliament and among the queen's advisers. Constant attempts were made to alter the constitution of the Church, but the queen always interfered to prevent them. Presbyterian customs sprang up in different parts of the country, but in 1577 Elizabeth and the bishops suppressed the 'prophesyings' or religious meetings of a Puritan cast.

While this difficulty was engrossing the attention of queen, Parliament, and bishops, a still more serious danger arose from the determination at length arrived at by the papacy to have no peace with England. As Mary queen of Scots, banished from her kingdom, took refuge in England and became a centre of political plots,

as Philip of Spain gave up the idea of an English alliance and began a deadly war against English commerce, the new pope, Pius V., determined to reconquer England for the papacy. In 1570 he excommunicated Elizabeth, declared her deposed from her throne, and directed Spain and France to turn her out from her dominions. A religious mission, taken up by the new order of the Jesuits in 1581, filled England with emissaries, religious and political. Plots were constant, many of them directed against the queen's life: expeditions to Ireland were fostered. Elizabeth's subjects were alarmed. Those who dared not repudiate the pope, and those who were converted to Romanism by the missionaries, were believed, sometimes with justice, to be traitors, and Parliament passed severe and cruel laws against them. Some Roman missionaries were executed, and fines were levied upon recusants, *i.e.* those who would not conform to the National Church. It was an age of severity and of danger. The crisis was the coming of the Spanish Armada in 1588 to conquer England and to set up the pope's power again.

The National Church came triumphantly out of these dangers. All classes rallied loyally round the State at the time of the Spanish attack, and even the Roman Catholics (*i.e.* the party which after 1570 refused to accept the English Church any more and clung to the pope of Rome) fought to preserve the kingdom from the foreigners. But the crown and the Church stood together, and the defeat of the Armada meant that the English Church would never again be at the mercy of a foreign power. In like manner the Puritans failed to influence the nation as a whole, because it was felt that their system of Church government came from abroad, and their rule of life was narrow and opposed to the broad sympathy with all human life and work, as the gift of God, which was the inspiring force of the great literature of the age. The great writers of Elizabeth's day, in spite of many temptations to which they too often yielded, were at heart profoundly religious men, and had a sincere faith in the power of God and the love of His Son. History, poetry, and the drama all turned

their arms against Puritanism, and we shall see hereafter that a great theological writer arose to complete their work.

The defeat of the Armada left England with many perils, but the great queen was secure in the affections of her people, and the Church was rising year by year in learning and efficiency, and was firmly fixed, as it had been five centuries before, as the greatest of national institutions.

The last years of Elizabeth's reign were marked by a long controversy. The Puritans had won considerable influence at the universities, and Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, published books in which he sketched an entire Presbyterian organisation for the Church of England. In 1580, an attempt was made to introduce this into England by means of committees of Puritan clergy (called *classes*) in each district.

More violent members of the party wrote the *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, a series of disgraceful libels directed against the bishops, whom they attacked in gross language, and Episcopacy, which they declared to be an invention of Satan. Such language alienated many and strengthened the Church among the educated classes. In 1585, Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, issued a code of canons which conciliated some of the Puritans. The authors of the tracts were prosecuted, and one was even put to death by the State. Cartwright himself was imprisoned for refusing the new oath enforced by the Court of High Commission.

In measures such as these lay the greatest danger for the Church. Parliament had given the crown power to establish a *Court of High Commission*, through which it was expected that the bishops with lay assistance would exercise their power of control over the clergy more expeditiously and successfully than through their own lawful episcopal courts. The High Commission, sitting in different parts of the country under this State authority, examined, suspended, and deposed clergy who refused to perform the services as directed in the *Prayer Book*, or who disobeyed the bishops. Such methods have

never been successful in England, and a strong feeling was fostered against the bishops who were forced by the Council to carry them out.

But if this resort to the secular arm was full of future danger, there was strong support for the Church in the creation of a school of learned and Catholic English theologians. During the first stress of the Reformation, English writers had been mainly concerned to defend the Church against the special doctrines and claims of the Roman See. Thus Cranmer had attacked all medieval teaching unsparingly, and very many of his colleagues assumed a strongly Protestant position. But Bishop Jewell, though he was himself opposed to much that was of Catholic use, as early as 1562, in his *Apology*, claimed that the English Church had 'returned to the primitive Church of the ancient Fathers and Apostles.' When the Puritan attacks began to be directed against the Church's system, a series of writers arose who based upon a deep study of the Holy Scripture and ancient authors a reasoned defence of the reformed Church of England. Bancroft in 1589 proved Episcopacy to be of the essence of the Church. In 1593, Bilson clearly explained the doctrine of Apostolic succession, and the perpetual government of Christ's Church by a ministry having its commission from Christ. In 1594, Richard Hooker published his 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' a convincing refutation of the Puritan claim, and a magnificent vindication of the reasoning powers of man in relation to the mysteries of God and the order of the Church. Hooker clearly declared that the English Church separated from Roman Catholics only in their errors, and admitted them to be 'of the family of Jesus Christ.' His book is the greatest theoretical defence of the English Church that exists. Here and there it is timid in positive statement, and it is always extremely deliberate, unexaggerated, and judicious; but the principles on which it is written—the reliance upon God's revelation, upon the Divine guidance of the Church, and upon the enlightened reason of man—are those on which the Church has always founded her best claim to justification before the conscience and the

judgment of humanity. Hooker was recognised to have entirely refuted Cartwright. He was followed by theologians as learned if not so widely influential. Dean Field of Gloucester, when he described the continuity of the Church, defended Englishmen as belonging to the Church 'wherein all our fathers lived, longing to see things brought to their first beginnings again,' and not to any body founded at the Reformation. Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, completed the circle of defenders when he declared on behalf of the National Church, 'I have not the least doubt that the Church of England before the Reformation, and the Church of England after the Reformation, are as much the same Church as a garden before it is weeded and after it is weeded is the same garden.' This school of writers became even stronger under the Stewarts. At Elizabeth's death it had vindicated the position which she had always striven to maintain for the National Church.

In 1603 the great queen died, and her successor, James VI. of Scotland, came from a land where the Reformation seemed to have run wild. After the abolition of Episcopacy, while Mary queen of Scots still reigned, men had been appointed to hold the bishoprics without consecration and without jurisdiction. These titular bishops were abolished in 1592 by the Scots Parliament, and Presbyterianism was fully established. 'The power that had been given to the bishops was expressly repealed, presentations to benefices were made subject to the control of the presbyteries, and the "full liberties, privileges, and immunities of the Church" were ratified. General Assemblies were also allowed to meet once a year, or oftener on emergency, the time and place being fixed by the king or his commissioner.' The system now established exercised severe repression upon individuals, and ruled those who were not strong enough to resist with a rod of iron. Mary's young son, James VI., taught by one of the greatest scholars of the age, George Buchanan, soon began to study and think for himself, and he set himself to restore the stolen endowments of the churches and the Episcopal government which was everywhere characteristic of the Church of Christ. He

knew, like S. Ignatius of old, that where a bishop was, there was the Church.

In 1597 James held an Assembly at Perth, which he induced to place more power in his hands. He restored the titular bishops, and when he became king of England he pushed on the restoration of Church order by a renewal of communion with the English Church. Andrew Melville, the strongest and ablest of the Presbyterian ministers, the successor of Knox as leader of the Reformation, was imprisoned. With his departure to France Presbyterianism visibly decayed. An Assembly at Glasgow revived large powers for the bishops, and finally on October 21, 1610, three Scottish titular bishops—Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Lamb of Brechin, and Hamilton of Galloway—were consecrated in London by English bishops. They consecrated ten other bishops, and Scotland again had the 'historic Episcopate.'

It is sometimes thought that the Church of England recognised the validity of Presbyterian orders by the ordination of Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton, who were consecrated although they had never been ordained priests before being ordained bishops. But the argument overlooks the fact that the greater rank includes the lesser, and that the Church recognises the validity of an ordination to the rank of bishop even if the candidate has not been previously ordained a priest. S. Ambrose was ordained bishop without being ordained priest, and other historical instances are recorded.

The bishops did not interfere with the machinery of Presbyterian government, such as the Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies which the Scottish Protestants had instituted in imitation of the French. There seemed to be no reason why such institutions should not continue to exist: they were not necessarily uncatholic, and, though not national in their origin, were capable of proving useful to the nation.

Public opinion in Scotland was divided as to the introduction of Episcopacy. The great body of the people were indifferent, the nobles were not unfavourable, and the majority of the ministers seem to have been in

favour of Episcopacy, except in certain strongholds of Presbyterianism in the south of Scotland.

In 1618 an Assembly at **Perth**, under the archbishop of **S. Andrews**, accepted, by a great majority, Five Articles framed in antagonism to Presbyterian innovations. The articles were: (1) Kneeling at the Holy Communion; (2) Private Communion in cases of sickness; (3) Private Baptism in similar cases; (4) Confirmation of children by the bishop; (5) Religious observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. These innocent regulations met with the same opposition as that which was directed by the Puritans against the rules of the Church in England.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH UNDER THE STEWARTS

THE first and most important work of the Church under the new king from Scotland was the confirmation of the faith against Calvinism. The king himself had leanings towards some of the views of the great French reformer, and sent English clergy to the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church at Dort in 1619, but the English Church was in no way committed to its decision on the Calvinist doctrine of Predestination. A conference had been held at Lambeth some years before under Archbishop Whitgift, in which a series of articles, called the 'Lambeth Articles,' strongly influenced by Calvin's teaching, were prepared. But both Queen Elizabeth and the Church as a whole were strongly opposed to them, and they never received any legal sanction. Immediately on James's accession, a number of clergy presented a petition, called the *Millenary petition* (because it was supposed to represent the wishes of a thousand ministers). This asked for the abolition of the surplice, of the giving of the ring in marriage, and of the use of the cross in baptism. It represented the Puritan opinion which Hooker had refuted, and a conference held at Hampton Court decided to make no important alterations in the Prayer Book.

The school of Hooker was succeeded by a school of still more learned men. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, fitly called in his day the 'light of the Christian world,' by theological treatises, sermons, and the constant teaching and practice of his holy life, confirmed the Church, as against all schismatics, in resistance to Rome

and reliance on the Holy Scriptures and the teaching of the undivided Church. Many learned bishops and clergy followed in his way, and the Church became well known throughout Europe for her learning, and was joined by men of erudition, once Romanists or Protestants, from abroad, such as Marco Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, who took part in the consecration of several English bishops, and the famous Isaac Casaubon, the most learned man of his day. The Hampton Court conference brought about the revision of the earlier translations of the Bible, and the issue in 1611 of the version which has been authorised for use from that day to this. Gradually, first Cambridge and then Oxford threw off the Calvinist teaching, and when in 1621 William Laud, President of S. John's College, the leader of the Oxford Catholic party, became Bishop of S. David's, it seemed that the maintenance of the teaching of the Prayer Book was assured.

James I. died in 1625. In 1626 Laud became bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1628 bishop of London, in 1633 archbishop of Canterbury. He was by far the strongest primate who had ruled in England since the Middle Ages, and he set himself to reform the Church in all matters in which it needed improvement. By his advice the declaration still found in our Prayer Books was prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, declaring that they should be taken in the plain and grammatical sense, and thus preventing Calvinist or anti-Catholic interpretations. Till 1640 he was responsible for all appointments to bishoprics, and he filled them with men who held the opinions of the English Church to be agreeable to those of 'the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops.' The universities accepted his guidance. He won back many from Rome, among them William Chillingworth, who wrote a famous book on *The Religion of Protestants*. Sainly men like George Herbert, a courtier of ancient family and a scholar of high position at Cambridge, who wrote *The Temple*, and *A Priest to the Temple*, took holy orders under his influence. The 'religious' life was revived in the English Church by the family of Nicholas Ferrar, once M.P. for Lymington, at Little

Gidding in Huntingdonshire. The Catholic position of the English Church as opposed to Rome, but Protestant only against her errors, was confirmed by the writings of Laud himself, of Jeremy Taylor, of Mountagu, and other bishops and clergy. Public worship in many places had fallen into slovenly ways: the 'holy tables' were sometimes in the naves of the churches (as had often been the case before the Reformation, when there were many chapels with separate dedications of the altars), and the 'high altar' had ceased to exist; undue importance was attached to preaching, much less than due importance to the Sacraments (though there were large numbers of communicants). Laud reformed all this, often in the face of much opposition. The holy tables were ordered in all cases to remain at the east end. Sermons were only to be preached after the Church services had been read in the parish churches. A strict investigation was made of the performance of their obligations by bishops, by cathedral bodies, and by parish priests. In all this Laud had the strong support of King Charles I., who was a devoted and instructed son of the Church.

But the vices of the Reformation government still hampered good work. The bishops could not act freely, but were obliged to use the unconstitutional Court of High Commission, which by authority from Parliament had been set up to carry out the royal supremacy. The king was in constant trouble from foreign politics, from want of money, from Irish difficulties. The statesmen around him advised him to arbitrary and unconstitutional courses. The Puritans won new influence and joined the constitutional opponents of the Crown. The revival of the Church's activity was resented by rich gentlemen and city merchants who lived careless lives. A strong party, formed of very different classes of men, opposed the Church as well as the crown in Parliament. Charles's power broke down on every side. The beginning of troubles was in Scotland. He had tried like his father to restore adequate endowments to the Scottish clergy: this alienated the nobility. He had caused the Scots bishops to draw up a service-book, which was published

in December 1636, and to wear surplices and vestments: this irritated national feeling and alarmed the Protestant opinions of the people. It was thought that Charles and Laud were trying to force the English Church upon the Scots people. A rebellion broke out in 1637 which destroyed the Church government, set up Presbyterianism again, and bound the majority of the Scots people to a 'Solemn League and Covenant' in its support. All the fourteen bishops were deposed, and eight of them were 'excommunicated,' a sentence which carried with it the loss of every civil right. Charles was unable to withstand the movement, and it greatly strengthened the English opposition to his rule.

The Scottish revolution set fire to the English discontent. Laud struggled bravely to the last. Canons (by which the clergy are still bound) had been passed in 1604: new canons were passed in 1640. This was the last act of his power. The Long Parliament, from 1640, with constantly diminishing majorities, destroyed the ancient constitution in Church and State. The Church was disestablished and Presbyterianism was set up in its place.

With the triumph of Parliament and the evident approach of a conflict in the State, the power over the Church passed into the hands of the House of Commons. Laud was impeached, December 18, 1640, and sent to the Tower. Committees were appointed which turned many of his school from their livings, destroyed ornaments and painted glass in churches, and prepared the destruction of the established form of Church government. Petitions came in against Episcopacy, and were met by others urging that no change should be made. But the strongest party in the House considered the bishops to be supporters of the king's arbitrary government: they were excluded from the House of Lords, and finally several of them were imprisoned. In 1641 the Court of High Commission was abolished. In 1643 Episcopacy was abolished, and the Commons came to agreement with the Scots and took the Solemn League and Covenant. An Assembly of Puritan divines, English and Scots, met at Westminster, and drew up a new book of public

worship (the Directory, set forth 1645), a form of Church government (Presbyterianism was established by law, 1646), and a Calvinist confession of faith and catechisms (which are still used by the Presbyterians in Scotland). The clergy were ejected from their livings because they would not give up the Prayer Book, and Presbyterian ministers took their places.

Before all these changes had been carried out, Laud was executed, though he had not been found guilty at his trial. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, January 10, 1645, declaring to the last that he had always been loyal to the Church of England. He had prevented the English Church being narrowed into Calvinism: he had always upheld a large liberty of belief among Churchmen: he had trained the men who were to bring back the Church and restore her lawful order fifteen years after his death.

During these years the Church of England was outside the protection of the law. It was illegal to use the Prayer Book, to observe Christmas Day, to be married by any one but a justice of the peace. The clergy for the most part lived in poverty and concealment, teaching children or acting as chaplains in private houses. Some conformed to the new establishment. But Presbyterianism was never popular in England. Its system was too rigid and too searching for ordinary men, its theology was too cruel and narrow. When Oliver Cromwell came to power, the chief influence in religion fell into the hands of the Independents, a republican party in Church and State, who allowed each congregation practically to choose its own teaching. A Committee of Triers was appointed in 1654 to license ministers, and other Committees were given power to turn out those who were considered insufficient. These powers were interpreted widely, and thus the benefices and churches began to pass into the hands of the Independents, the predecessors of the modern Congregationalists. Puritanism was supreme, and outwardly England was coerced into strict and sombre submission.

At first sight it might seem that politics disestablished the Church, and politics restored it. But this is not

the whole truth. There was an intense moral force in Puritanism, an intense belief in literal obedience to the Bible as interpreted by Calvinists, a passionate revolt against the order and system of the ancient and reformed Church. But when Puritanism came into power, it was found unable to convert the souls of men more surely than the old religion, as it was unable to replace the Prayer Book in their affections. Milton, the greatest of Puritan writers, found that 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large'; Englishmen in general revolted against a sternness which seemed to them to be hypocritical; everywhere there was confusion where there might have been peace. Presbyterians themselves came to prefer the Church to Independency. The new forms of Church government were tried and found wanting, and the people welcomed back with acclamations, in 1660, the Church as well as the king. The bishops who still survived at the Restoration returned to their sees. They had most of them been trained by Laud, and they were all of them imbued with his attachment to the Church and her ancient order. Juxon, his lifelong friend, who as bishop of London had attended King Charles I. on the scaffold, became archbishop of Canterbury. Other men of learning and judgment were appointed to the vacant sees.

From 1660 to 1662 the constitution of the English Church received what was in many respects its final settlement. The clergy who had been ejected since 1645 were restored to their livings, by Act of Parliament. By the same power the bishops were restored to the House of Lords, and the property of the cathedrals, bishoprics, and parishes was restored to them. A conference was held in London, at the Savoy, to discuss the differences between the Puritans and the Church. This served to make clear how fundamental were the differences which separated them. The Puritans demanded the withdrawal from the Prayer Book of many statements of historic Christian teaching (such as the regeneration of baptized infants, forms of confirmation, ordination, and the like), and of ceremonies (such as kneeling, and the sign of the cross) connected with that teaching, and of the vestments ordered by the Ornaments rubric (see p. 55) since the time

of Elizabeth. It was found impossible to combine the opposite opinions, and the result was a division which lasts to this day.

The Restoration settlement was completed by a final revision of the Prayer Book by the Convocations, assented to by the king, and made law by Act of Parliament. Considerable alterations were made by the revisers, and they were all in the direction of simplicity, with emphasis on ancient customs and usages (as in the more frequent use of the word 'priest,' the addition of a table of fasts, of several names to the Calendar, and the revision of the instruction on the Sacraments in the Catechism). The rubric requiring the use of the vestments in use by the authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. was, in spite of the Puritan objection and discussion, retained, with no reference to these vestments ever having been disused.

The Restoration settlement was the work of men such as those who all along had guided the Church through her long period of reformation. Everything which seemed to belong to the primitive doctrine of the Church was reasserted, and all such ancient and beautiful customs, or ritual, as had not been degraded or misrepresented through superstitious use, were retained.

In her relation to the State the Church remained as of old. The only change was that by an agreement between Sheldon, Juxon's successor as archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the right of the clergy to tax themselves separately in their convocations was given up.

We have next to trace the effects of this final settlement upon the religion of the country.

The Restoration settlement recognised, what had long been a fact, that there were a number of dissenters, besides the Roman Catholics, who did not conform to the worship or accept the doctrines of the English Church. Church writers had pleaded for toleration for them. Oliver Cromwell, though he had given no toleration to English Churchmen or Romanists, had preserved the freedom of all sorts of Protestant nonconformists. Charles II. had

promised and wished to grant freedom of worship. But the majority of lay people in 1662 were in no mood for toleration of any form of dissent. Parliament considered that nonconformists were a danger to the State. The connection between religion and politics in the Civil War could not be forgotten. The State seemed to require the support of a national Church, and the House of Commons considered that it could best support both State and Church by persecuting those whom it believed to be dangerous. The result of the Acts now passed was to turn all nonconformists into separated bodies of dissenters.

The first and necessary step after the issue of the revised Prayer Book was to require all clergy to use it. That it should be duly used, it was necessary that all ministers should receive ordination from a bishop. Thus all those—Independents, Presbyterians, and members of many new sects (such as Quakers)—who would not accept the orders of the Apostolic Ministry or use the Book of Common Prayer, had of necessity to retire from their benefices and endowments. This was inevitable and right. But it was not right, though it was inevitable in the state of feeling of the vast majority of Englishmen, that the dissenters should suffer persecution. It was the result of the age-long custom which the State had never abandoned. As the Parliament of Henry iv. had punished the Lollards, as Henry viii. had punished those who refused to accept the royal supremacy, as Mary had killed those who would not accept the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and Elizabeth those who upheld the jurisdiction of the pope, as Oliver Cromwell proscribed and imprisoned Churchmen and Romanists, so the Parliaments of Charles ii., wildly enthusiastic for the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State, passed laws, as their passion or fear dictated, against all dissenters from the established order. Four Acts in particular must be mentioned.

The Act of Uniformity (1661) not only enforced the use of the Prayer Book, but required all lay folk to attend the Church services under pain of imprisonment. The Corporation Act (1661) excluded dissenters from municipal office. The Conventicle Act (1664) forbade all meeting for worship apart from the church under

harsh penalties. The Five Mile Act (1665) obliged all dissenting ministers either to take an oath not to attempt to alter the Constitution in Church or State, or not to come within five miles of a town. All these were dictated by fear of a new revolution of Protestant sectaries; and even before they were in force country magistrates arrested and imprisoned dissenting preachers, as they arrested in 1660 John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* is the greatest of English allegories. Romanist dissenters were no less feared than Protestants. The Test Act (1673) was passed in terror of the Roman Catholics, when a pretended Popish Plot to murder the king and the chief officers of State was imposed on the credulity of Parliament and people by the knavery of a renegade named Titus Oates. This Act declared that no man could hold any military or civil office unless he received the Holy Communion according to the use of the Church of England, and signed a declaration against Transubstantiation. The object of all these Acts was to carry out the popular will, that those who ruled the country or served the State should be members of the National Church, and it was believed that only such would accept her Sacraments. The test seemed the simplest that could be thought of. But it proved that there were unconscientious dissenters; and men profaned the most sacred ordinance of religion by making it 'a picklock to a place.' The only safeguard against sacrilege was the requirement of the Prayer Book that no notorious evil-liver should be admitted to communion with the Church; and the charity or timidity of the clergy forbade the frequent enforcement of this rule.

Charles was always anxious to give toleration. He issued a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 suspending all penalties against dissenters, but Parliament declared it illegal. He was himself desirous to unite the English Church with Rome, and his ambassadors obtained schemes for allowing the services to be in English and the clergy to be married; but the Church was not concerned in the negotiation, and Charles, after drawing nearer and nearer to the religion of his mother, his brother, and his sister, promised the French king,

Louis xiv., by the secret treaty of Dover in 1670, to declare himself a Romanist, and in 1685 died in the communion of Rome.

James II. had been a Roman Catholic for many years, and though at first he promised to maintain the Church, he soon began, almost without concealment, to try to bring back the pope's authority. He claimed a power to dispense with the laws in certain cases, appointed Roman Catholics to posts in the army, and even to offices in the universities which could only lawfully be held by clergy of the English Church. He attempted to win over the dissenters to his side by issuing a new declaration suspending all the penal laws, and he ordered that it should be read in all churches. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, with six bishops, petitioned the king against his illegal command. The petition was declared by James to be a libel; and the archbishop, with Bishops Ken (Bath and Wells), Lake (Chichester), Lloyd (S. Asaph), Trelawney (Bristol), Turner (Ely), and White (Peterborough), were tried for their courageous act. They were acquitted, and the whole nation rejoiced with the Church which had again championed the national liberties.

Within a few weeks James fled at the approach of William of Orange, who had married his daughter Mary, and the crown was conferred on them as king and queen. This was the Revolution of 1688.

In Scotland the measures of Charles II. and James II. had also prepared a revolution. In 1661 the Scots Episcopacy was restored by the Scots Parliament, the Rescissory Act repealing all the legislation of the last twenty-one years. Bishops were consecrated to fill the vacant sees, James Sharp, who had been a prominent Presbyterian, being appointed to the primatial see of S. Andrews. It is said that he 'did more harm to Episcopacy by adopting it than he did to Presbytery by deserting it.' He encouraged the severest measures against the Covenanters, and involved the Church in the odium caused by the repressive measures of the State.

The restoration of Episcopacy was welcomed in the north of Scotland, but disliked in the south and west.

The Prayer Book was not enforced, and it appears that many of the ministers had not received Episcopal ordination, and many lost their benefices by refusing to admit the lawfulness of Episcopacy. Still nearly six hundred ministers conformed to the Church. But soon the Parliament passed Acts as severe as the English Acts against dissenters, and a Mile Act even more stringent than the English was put in force. Rebellions broke out in the south and west. These were followed by still more severe measures. Some Covenanters murdered Archbishop Sharp in 1679. Archbishop Leighton, the most saintly of the prelates, resigned his see in despair at being unable to carry any compromise or to prevent the persecution. The battle of Bothwell Brig, 1679, in which the Covenanters were defeated, was followed by an attempt to pacify the dissenters by an Indemnity Act. But the endeavours to enforce the Royal Supremacy caused dissatisfaction on all sides, and the end of Charles II.'s reign left the Church in confusion and the nation almost at war. James II. tried to set up Romanism, and the bishops who opposed him were deposed. When the king fled, the south rose against the clergy. More than two hundred incumbents were 'rabbed' (turned out of their houses and ill-treated). In July 1689, Episcopacy was disestablished, mainly, it would seem, because the bishops and many of the clergy refused to take the oaths to the new government. Presbyterianism was legally established in 1690, and has remained in power ever since.

The bishops and clergy lost their position partly through the staunch Protestantism of the south, partly through their loyalty to the Stewarts. For many years they and their flocks formed the majority of the people. They were subjected to severe persecution, which in the end was successful, and within fifty years of the Revolution Scotland had become outwardly a nation of Presbyterians.

The Revolution of 1688, which told so harshly against the Church in Scotland, might have been expected to benefit the English Church. It was the attack on the Church more than anything else which had lost James II.

his crown. The Seven Bishops were felt to be the defenders of the liberty of the people even more than of the Church. But the new king was a Dutch Calvinist, and, though a man of bad life, was a strong Protestant. His wife, Queen Mary, was much attached to the saintly Ken, who had been her chaplain, but William would not tolerate reproof, and so kept the best of the clergy at a distance. The Whig party, which had most influence with him, was not inclined to support the Church; and many of the clergy believed that it was their duty to remain loyal to the exiled king. This caused the schism of the non-jurors. The State required an oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Archbishop Sancroft, five of the bishops (four of whom had been among the famous Seven), and over four hundred clergy, besides many laity, considered that they could not break from their allegiance to James. The non-juring clergy were ejected from their cures and the bishops from their sees. Sancroft and Ken, two of the most saintly bishops by whom the Church of England has ever been ruled, died in retirement. A schism was caused which seriously threatened the stability of the Church. The non-jurors split among themselves, but still continued to consecrate and ordain, and to keep apart from the National Church, till the last of their bishops died in 1805.

The majority of the clergy and bishops accepted the change of government, rightly believing that the duty of the Church was to minister to the people without concerning herself with political changes. But William distrusted the clergy as High Churchmen and Tories. He endeavoured to pass a **Comprehension Bill**, to admit dissenters to the Church, but the Church party was still by far the most numerous in Parliament, and the House of Commons refused to make any changes without the consent of Convocation, a constitutional act which again saved the Church from the arbitrary power of the Crown. A **Toleration Act** was however passed which gave freedom of worship to Protestant but not to Romanist dissenters. The rule of the Church passed into the hands of bishops who were in favour with the king, and of moderate opinions, such as Tillotson, archbishop of

Canterbury, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. A sharp contention occurred between the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury and the bishops; and the Church of England, deserted by some of her best children, seemed in great peril.

None the less, the reign of William III. was a time of great spiritual activity. It was the time of the foundation of the great religious societies which have done such magnificent work for the Church at home and abroad, and from which so many other organisations for good works have sprung. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701, and within the same period many societies for the reformation of public morals were begun and did good work. It was an age also of good books. Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* were popular among all classes. *The Whole Duty of Man* was a religious book published anonymously which had an enormous sale for many years. Cosin's *Devotions* were used, and Comber helped to the understanding of the Book of Common Prayer. From this time to the middle of the eighteenth century the supply of good devotional books, besides many works of controversy with Romanist and Protestant dissenters, never ceased. Best of all, perhaps, was the work of a non-juror, William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*.

With the accession of Queen Anne, 1702, the Church came once more into favour with the crown. The queen was a devout Churchwoman, and told Parliament that 'upon all occasions of promotion to any ecclesiastical dignity she would have a just regard for those who were eminent and remarkable for their piety, learning, and constant zeal for the Church.' In 1704 she gave up to the Church the right of the crown to the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices (which had at one time been paid to the pope, and since 1535 to the crown), thus founding the fund for Church purposes which is known as Queen Anne's Bounty.

During Anne's reign (1702-1714) several attempts were made by the House of Commons to remedy

the scandal caused by the evasion of the Test Act. It was proposed to prevent 'occasional conformity' (i.e. the receiving of the Holy Communion by dissenters once, to qualify themselves for office) by requiring more frequent communion, as required by the Prayer Book from all members of the Church, thus apparently securing that only bona-fide Churchmen should hold office under the State. But all the bills passed by the House of Commons were rejected by the Lords, and the scandal remained till the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. The Church feeling of the House of Commons was shown in an exaggerated form by the Lower House of Convocation, which claimed an independence of the Upper House similar to that enjoyed by the House of Commons in Parliament. The popular feeling was shown in the violent agitation all over the country in favour of Dr. Sacheverell, who was impeached by the House of Commons in 1710 for a sermon directed against those who were 'resolved to bring the Church into the conventicle,' and would do 'by moderation and occasional conformity' what could not be done 'by comprehension and toleration.' The strong feeling of the country showed itself in Parliament, which in 1713 passed an Occasional Conformity Act and a Schism Act, to prevent the foundation of schools by dissenters.

Such bitterness naturally led to a reaction. It was feared that the clergy and the Tories would welcome back James, son of James II., even if he would not renounce Romanism; and when (by the Act of Settlement passed under William III.) George, Elector of Hanover, ascended the throne on the death of Anne in 1714, the Church passed under the control of those whose chief aim was to keep well with the Government. The two Acts passed at the end of Anne's reign were repealed. The Convocations were not allowed to sit, and 'remained in a state of suspended animation' till 1852.

CHAPTER VI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE eighteenth century was, for the most part, a period of deadness in the history of the Church in England and in Scotland. In the latter kingdom, now united with England by Acts of the two Parliaments in 1707, which guaranteed the establishment of Presbyterianism, rioting had 'spread from parish to parish' when attempts were made on the one hand to turn out the clergy in districts strongly favourable to Episcopacy, and on the other, in Presbyterian districts, to expel the last traces of Episcopal order. The bishops and clergy begged the help of Queen Anne in 'the deplorable condition of the once National Church since the suppression of its Apostolic government.' In 1712 an Act of Parliament was at last passed giving freedom of worship to 'those of the Episcopal communion in Scotland.' This toleration did not last for long. After the rising of 1715 in favour of the Stewarts, in which it was believed that many members of the Church were implicated, an Act was passed making it penal for 'Episcopal ministers' to officiate unless they had taken the oaths to the Government, and in many cases where they were still in possession of parish churches they were turned out and imprisoned. At that time they were in a majority in Edinburgh, but the severe measures both now and after the rising of 1745 brought the Church almost to the point of extinction. Not only were many of the chapels burned, but an Act was passed which allowed licence to minister among the Episcopalians only to those who had been ordained by an English or Irish bishop, and gave

the punishment of perpetual banishment on a second offence to any other priest who should perform service. The Government plainly intended to destroy the Episcopal Church by depriving it of a native priesthood. Its action cannot be regarded as purely political. The Scottish clergy were told that they would not be allowed to officiate unless they had taken oaths of allegiance to the Government, but, if they were ready to take the oaths, they were informed that the law did not permit them to do so unless they had been ordained out of Scotland. The laity were included in the penal statutes. Any layman attending an illegal 'meeting-house,' and not giving information of the same within five days, was liable to be fined and imprisoned. If a peer were twice guilty of the offence, he could not be chosen a representative peer, and a commoner could not exercise the franchise. Every building in which five or more persons assembled for Episcopal worship was declared to be a 'meeting-house.'

Various devices were employed for evading these cruel laws. In some places, as at Montrose, a building was erected with several rooms opening out from a central room, and four persons were placed in each apartment while divine service was being conducted. Sometimes the congregations met in secluded places in the open air, or in a lonely cottage so situated as to afford equal opportunities for escape and for the observation of an approaching enemy. Presbyterian spies assisted the execution of the penal laws, and for many years the administrations of the Church were attended with great danger. The persecution only became successful by diminishing the supply of clergy. The people often had no liking for Presbyterianism, and as late as 1770 many hundreds came forward to be confirmed by Bishop Robert Forbes when he visited the dioceses of Ross and Argyll.

It is deserving of notice that in spite of the poverty of their surroundings, the Scottish Episcopalians were often more tenacious of ancient usages and belief than their English brethren. For instance, the sign of the cross was used in confirmation at a time when no bishop

of the Church of England used such a ceremony. Between the years 1716 and 1723 the Scots bishops, in close relation with the English non-jurors, entered into negotiations with the Orthodox Churches of the East, in Russia and Turkey, with a view to reunion. The proposed union was not effected. But a remarkable proof of Scottish sympathy with Catholic antiquity and the Eastern branch of the Church is to be found in the history of the **Scottish Communion Office**. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Scottish Episcopalians sometimes employed the English Book of Common Prayer, sometimes the Scottish Book first used in 1637. Some unfortunate disputes took place a few years later with reference to various liturgical prayers and ceremonial usages, such as the invocation of the Holy Spirit at the consecration of the Eucharist, and the mixing of water with the wine. An agreement was made in 1731. Soon afterwards, much was done towards a true understanding of the nature of Christian worship when *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* by the good and learned Bishop Rattray was published. The final result of this and similar works was the publication of the Communion Office of 1764. This still remains the true and peculiar service of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. In its close adhesion to the form and spirit of the primitive liturgies it is unsurpassed, and its intrinsic beauty no less than its association with a pathetic history endear it to all whom it has taught to pray.

In England the Church was not persecuted, but every effort was made by those in authority to repress zeal, and the High Church party were generally treated as if they were disloyal. The bishops were often men of learning, but they were chosen generally for their services to the Government. Many of them but rarely visited their sees : Hoadly, the most prominent opponent of the High Church party, never visited his bishopric of Bangor during the whole time he held it. It was a period of much controversial writing, and of some sound moral teaching, but the enthusiasm without which religion is apt to lose all its power had almost ceased to exist. One

great writer at least redeems the Church from the charge of universal negligence. Joseph Butler, rector of Stanhope, and afterwards bishop, first of Bristol and then of Durham, by his *Analogy of Religion* (1736) and Sermons, and by his zealous discharge of his duties as priest and bishop, did much to preserve for the Church the respect and devotion of the laity. Besides this, he will always be most remembered as the greatest opponent of the English Deists of his time. The Deists endeavoured to reduce religion to a vague belief in God or a code of respectable morality. Some of them lived upon the doctrines which they attacked, and assumed as their own, or as the common products of human reason, moral principles which they derived from Christianity. Others were more fanatical, and were justly reproached with desiring to clear away everything which they called 'superstition,' and building nothing upon the vacant site. The number and popularity of Deistic books published in the first half of the eighteenth century proves how low was the estimate of religion among men of culture, and the boldness with which the Deists expected the fall of Christianity is a proof of their temporary success. Butler says, 'It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious.' The good bishop did a great deal towards dispelling this comfortable delusion of the Deists. But without a general revival of energy the Church must have sunk into utter decay.

The revival came from the noble work of the 'Methodists.' About 1729, the great movement which was to transform the Church was started in Oxford. Its chief leaders were the brothers John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. These reformers lived by strict rule, observing all the fasts and festivals of the Church, and from the exactness of their devotional method they received the nickname which has remained attached to their followers. Whitefield became probably the greatest popular preacher that the Church of England has ever known. After doing a great work of conversion for many years, he became estranged from the

Wesleys through the wild views that he adopted on several points of theology. He was 'a guileless, self-denying, but ill-trained and very injudicious enthusiast,' and after separating from Wesley and being coldly treated by the bishops, he ended, though no doubt unintentionally, by founding the sect of Calvinistic Methodists.

Charles Wesley by his beautiful hymns brought back love and zeal to the worship of thousands. John Wesley by his marvellous 'awakening' sermons, and by his extraordinary power of influence and organisation, gave new energy to the Church, even when her rulers most distrusted him.

At first the noble work of these good men was encouraged and blessed by the bishops, but just as the friars in the thirteenth century were disliked by the parish priests, with whose work (or negligence) they seemed to interfere, so in the eighteenth the clergy, often wrongly, but sometimes with justification, resented the intrusion of the itinerant preachers who drew thousands to hear them. Gradually the followers of Wesley adopted strange views, such as a doctrine of the new birth which denied the Prayer Book teaching as to regeneration in baptism, and the necessity of personal and conscious assurance of salvation. But Wesley himself, though he founded a society which was more and more estranged from the Church, was in intention always loyal to her. He did a work which no man before him since the thirteenth century had done in England. He revived the inspiration of personal piety throughout the length and breadth of the land, and he brought religion before men in a way in which it had long ceased to be brought. Force, reality, personal appeal, were the reasons of the great revival which, by the power of God through the preaching of the Methodists, transformed the religion of the country.

John Wesley died in 1791, without consciously diverging from the teaching or the communion of the Church, save only in regard to the ministry. In 1784 he laid hands on two persons to act as bishops among the Methodists of America. Here, and in his later action, he separated from the Church. His brother Charles strongly

disapproved of his conduct in the matter, and is said to have written the following lines :

How easily are bishops made,
By man or woman's whim !
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him ?

These later developments of the Methodists, which led inevitably to dissent, were strongly supported by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, an excellent but somewhat violent person, who founded a training college for ministers, and left her name associated with a sect.

When Wesley died, his work had reinvigorated the Church. A number of holy men who shared his opinions, or who had been his associates, spread his teaching in the country. Among these were Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, Thomas Scott, Walker of Truro, Grimshaw of Haworth, Harvey, Romaine, Venn, Toplady, Rowland Hill, John Newton, and Richard Cecil. The work of these men in raising the spiritual tone of the nation was very great. They were regarded as the leaders of a party in the Church which has ever since had great influence. The Evangelicals, as they were called, attached little importance to the history or traditions of the Church, and were strongly opposed to anything which in the least savoured of Rome. They laid greater stress on individual than on corporate religion, and they were apt to undervalue teaching which the Church of England had carefully preserved throughout the period of the Reformation. Of their philanthropic energy and religious zeal there could be, and can be, no doubt.

Wesley's work not only stirred up the Church to new life and formed a distinct party within it, but it gave fresh vigour to the older dissenting sects, such as the Independents or Congregationalists, and after his death created a new sect which, contrary to his earnest prayers, separated from the Church and became known as the Wesleyans.

CHAPTER VII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

DURING the later years of the eighteenth century, and for the first twenty years of the nineteenth, the Evangelicals were the most prominent members of the Church in England. They founded the Religious Tract Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society. Warmly supported by rich families like the Gurneys and Buxtons, and championed in the House of Commons by the saintly statesman William Wilberforce, the bosom friend of the Prime Minister, Pitt, they won the abolition of the slave trade, and eventually, in 1833, the abolition of slavery itself in all British possessions. The last great name belonging especially to their party is that of Charles Simeon, who died in 1836, and who had had for over fifty years a commanding influence on the religion of Cambridge, and had trained hundreds of ministers in the Church to reflect his pious life and his semi-Calvinist view. The Church was tending during this period to adopt opinions which had been in abeyance since the seventeenth century. A new revival was needed to reinforce old teaching.

At the end of the last century the Church in Scotland seemed to be at a low ebb. 'I am a member of the suffering and Episcopal Church of Scotland, the shadow of a shade now,' are words which the greatest of Scottish writers, himself a member of the Church, puts into the mouth of one of his characters. The poverty of the Church may be illustrated by the fact that in 1783 a worthy priest sent to Bishop Petrie a gown which had

belonged to his predecessor, humbly regretting that he had not a piece of cloth which would make it long enough to 'sit decently' on its new owner. In 1777 the Scottish bishops promised to take care of the 'orphan' survivors of the English non-jurors. But it fell to their lot to perform a more important work. In spite of repeated efforts made to obtain a bishop for America, the English Government had steadily refused its consent, with the result that the population was drifting into Methodism or indifference. In 1783, after the separation of the United States from England, the clergy of Connecticut applied to the English bishops for the consecration of Dr. Samuel Seabury, who had been chaplain of an American regiment in the British service. The bishops felt unable to dispense with the oath of royal supremacy, which Seabury, as a citizen of an independent state, obviously could not take. In this dilemma, Dr. Seabury made an application to the Scottish bishops. An agreement was first made 'between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church of Connecticut.' Then on Sunday, 14th November 1784, Dr. Seabury was consecrated in an upper room in Bishop Skinner's house in Aberdeen. He was heartily welcomed in America, where his devotion to Catholic truth and order were of inestimable service. He was vigorously opposed to the shallow scepticism which had begun to threaten the American Church, and he immediately tried to consolidate the Church's organisation. He also induced the American Churchmen to accept the Scottish Communion Office as the basis of their own liturgy, and thus effected for the worship what he effected for the federation of the Church in America.

In 1792 the penal laws against the Scots ministry were at last removed, but still they were not allowed to minister in England. From 1814 the State granted a small sum in support of the Episcopal clergy. This was withdrawn in 1856.

Sad though the condition of the Scots Church was, she had preserved the teaching of the great divines of the seventeenth century, which had been almost forgotten in England. The reverence for antiquity preserved in

Scotland, and represented by the greatest of her writers, was no doubt one of the causes which led Englishmen at length to consider the days of old and recover the teaching of the undivided Church. But there was a permanent influence in the English Church which tended in the same direction. The school of opinion which came to be called 'high and dry,' inherited the traditions of Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor and Ken. It needed only a breath of life to kindle the dry embers into flame. This was given by the rise of a new school at Oxford, at a time when attacks on the Church in Parliament were frequent, and when men of every shade of opinion feared that her endowments and position would soon be lost.

Dr. Arnold, head-master of Rugby, to avoid the danger, proposed to admit all dissenters to the Church, and to require no assent to her distinctive teaching, and he thought in 1832 that 'the Church as it now stands no human power can save.' He was himself a great power as a teacher, and he represented the Latitudinarian (now called Broad Church) party, which was represented a century before by Tillotson and Burnet. But his was not the voice which was to recall the Church to duties she had neglected and doctrines she had ignored.

A new movement began in 1833 in Oxford. It was led by John Keble, Fellow of Oriel, Edward Bouverie Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church, and John Henry Newman, Fellow of Oriel and vicar of S. Mary's. The issue of *Tracts for the Times* was the first step. No better description can be given of the work of the new Oxford school in reviving neglected teaching than in the words which have been used of Mr. Keble, whose influence, through his *Christian Year*, was perhaps the most widespread of the whole movement.

'His powerfully constructive mind,' wrote Dr. Liddon (*Life of Pusey*, vol. i. p. 271), 'grasped from the beginning the strength of the Anglican position as opposed to Protestantism and Rationalism, as well as to the yet unappreciated power of Romanism. He saw, as he stated in one of the earliest Tracts, that the Apostolical Succession was the essential bond, recognised by sixteenth and seventeenth century divines, associating the English

Church, through Reformation and papal dominion, with that primitive Catholicism in which the Anglicans laid their foundations, and to which they had always appealed.' The first aim of the Tractarians (as they came to be called) was to vindicate the belief of the Church in absolute religious truth. They raised a protest by their lives and by their writings against the shallow views which endeavoured to take from religion all belief in the supernatural, and to discourage adherence to the ancient doctrinal standards and organisation of the Church. The Tracts were first of all directed against the indifferent, and secondly they were intended to represent the true teaching of the English Church 'as opposed to Popish and Protestant dissent.'

The work of the Oxford movement linked itself to the teaching of the seventeenth century. In Scotland it was represented by Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, whose noble work, among many difficulties, will not be forgotten. In England, Keble and Newman and Pusey, Isaac Williams, Hugh James Rose, Walter Farquhar Hook, Richard William Church, and many others, 'were filled with a deep feeling of the importance and the wide consequence of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. It was this that linked them to the great English divines. It was this which gave the extraordinary motive force to the movement which they began. As conversion, assurance, and individuality were the powerful and appealing principles of the Evangelical revival, so the sense of inheritance and of communion in one historic body belonged to these Tractarians.'

The external history of the movement can be briefly told. It was bitterly opposed in Oxford; and as each doctrinal declaration of Mr. Newman or Dr. Pusey appeared, and was based on the teaching of the ancient fathers of the Church, it was denounced by those to whom it was unfamiliar as if it was alien to the teaching of the English Church. Treated by those in authority with strange harshness, Mr. Newman, the most beautiful and inspiring preacher of his age, gradually felt the ties which bound him to the National Church to be loosening, began to distrust her history and her doctrine,

and finally passed over into the Church of Rome (1845). His secession was followed during the next twenty years by many others, the most important being that of Archdeacon Manning. But the main body of the Tractarians stood firm. The massive learning of Dr. Pusey, the poetic genius of Mr. Keble, the wide sympathies and wisdom of Dean Church, carried on the power of the movement to our own day.

Religious energy revived on every side. Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford, made the Episcopate a great force in the religion of the country. Missions were started, to awaken the careless. The religious life in communities was revived for women and for men with results of untold value. The Church reasserted her corporate life. Her Convocations again by royal licence resumed their sessions. Her missions all over the world increased beyond all expectation. Her bonds of union with the Church in the Colonies, in America, and in Scotland became closer, and were strengthened by conferences of bishops at Lambeth, the last of which met in 1908.

Through all this the wide comprehension of the Church was recognised. While some, living lives of eminent holiness and self-sacrifice, preached Christ as the Head of a divine society, revived Catholic usages which had been forgotten, and insisted on the observance of the rules of the Prayer Book in their integrity, including the rubric as to the ornaments of the church and of the minister, others upheld the Evangelical principles of personal responsibility and the free salvation of Christ, and others threw open the doors of the Church as widely as possible to admit any who called upon the name of the Lord Jesus. Historically it is necessary to note the existence of these three schools—of the Broad Church, with Arnold and Stanley and Jowett; of the Low Church, with Simeon and Melville and Villiers; of the High Church, with Pusey and Keble and Hook. But the influence of the schools was constantly commingled, as may be seen in the teaching of Maurice and Robertson and Kingsley and Church; and the revival of spiritual energy in the Church was due to the work, separate and combined, of all three.

The Church in England retains to-day her historic constitution and to a great extent her ancient geographical arrangements. She is governed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and by thirty-three diocesan bishops, who are assisted by seventeen suffragan or assistant bishops. Under these are the archdeacons, ninety in number, each bishopric being divided into archdeaconries, and each archdeaconry into rural deaneries, of which there are eight hundred and ten: the unit of ecclesiastical organisation is the parish, of which there are about fourteen thousand in England. Constitutionally the Church is an estate of the realm, whose bishops sit in the Upper House of Parliament (not all now sit; since the increase of the Episcopate only twenty-four bishops besides the archbishops sit in the House of Lords), and whose members generally act through the two ancient Convocations of Canterbury and York. By rule, which has obtained at least since the time of Edward I., if not from a much earlier date, the Convocations are composed of the archbishops and diocesan bishops, the deans and archdeacons, and two representatives from each cathedral chapter and from each diocese. The Convocations, with licence from the crown, may pass canons, which are binding on the clergy, but which need the sanction of Parliament to be binding on the laity.

Geographically, the boundaries of the rural deaneries are the oldest surviving divisions of England, and the divisions of most of the dioceses belong to a period before the union of England under one crown.

While the population has increased enormously in the present century, the income of the Church has diminished. In 1835 there were about 11,000 parishes, of which there were over 1600 worth less than £100 a year: now there are about 14,000, and only in those whose population is over 1000 is it possible to make the income of the incumbents £200 a year. In spite of the poverty of the clergy and the want of adequate endowments, the amount collected for philanthropic, educational, and missionary work reaches an immense sum annually.

The Church of England has been the mother of Churches

in America, in Australia, in the Colonies and Dependencies, and beyond the limits of British conquest or influence.

The Church in Scotland, in full communion with the English Church, stands in a different relation to the State. She is not nationally or officially recognised. Since the Revolution of 1688 Presbyterianism has been the established religion of that country. But the Episcopal body retains its hold on those who revere the ancient order, and increases its claims upon the love and devotion of the people. Its organisation is, in relation to the State, entirely voluntary, and the powers of the bishops and positions of the clergy are secured only as other corporations are secured. In 1864 some of the last disabilities were removed by Parliament from the bishops and clergy. The Church has seven bishops, holding ancient sees, about three hundred and forty clergy, and the number of laity belonging to her communion is about a hundred and twenty thousand.

Successful efforts have been made during the last fifty years to increase the outward expression of Church feeling and the sense of corporate life. In Scotland the laity have large powers over Church finance and assist freely in matters of organisation; and the Episcopal and Provincial Synods have full authority over the Church. In England corporate life has shown itself in such gatherings as Diocesan Conferences and Church Congresses, through which the feeling of Churchmen on matters of religious and social interest is made known. Convocation, too, has resumed its sessions and watched over the progress of the Church. A House of laymen, representative of the different dioceses, has been added to the Convocation of each province.

During the nineteenth century a series of Acts has been passed by Parliament opening the ancient universities to dissenters from the Church, and allowing dissenting ministers and others to conduct Christian or orderly services in the churchyards.

The law courts have from time to time been concerned with questions of doctrine and ritual, and a Public Worship Regulation Act was passed in 1874, which is generally regarded as an injudicious interference with

the liberty of the Church. An enlarged freedom of self-government and a reconstituted system of ecclesiastical courts are clearly the needs of the present day.

Some such words as these, familiar though the facts are, seemed necessary to conclude these chapters, for there are many nowadays who are ignorant of the history of their fathers' and grandfathers' struggles for the Church. That the Church no longer even seems to exercise any oppressive authority over the people, that all religious bodies are absolutely free from her control or from any restriction from the State, have been among the most important works of the century that is now ending. But most important of all is the new life which has come into the Church through the guidance of bishops, the sacrifice of clergy, the devotion of religious, the loyalty of lay folk.

This new life was seen in the gathering together in the year 1908 in London of a congress of representatives from the whole Anglican Communion to discuss, in a spirit of humility and penitence but also of large-hearted hope, problems of social life, of thought, of missionary effort. Meetings thronged by enthusiastic hearers and addressed by leaders of Church life from every part of the world testified to the zeal with which Churchmen are setting themselves to apply the teaching of the Lord to the problems of a new age. Still, as in the first days of the Church, the Bishops are the guardians of faith and unity in the body of Christ. In 1867 a conference of Bishops was held at Lambeth. It has become decennial. In 1908 three hundred and twenty-one bishops were summoned to take part in its deliberations, of whom two hundred and fifty-one were able to be present. Their deliberations were conducted in the true spirit of the Church "which has borne for centuries a trust unique in Christendom."

Thus when we look back over the centuries of Church history in our land, we may indeed thank God and take courage. The Scottish Church has advanced side by side with the English, and they confront the difficulties of the future with cordial union in humility and hope. But the difficulties are not slight. The duty laid on the Church is in itself a heavy weight, and in an age of

unsettlement and of stirring to new life it is doubly heavy. The Church is no longer called on merely to answer the needs of democracy : she has to meet Socialism on the one side and Anarchism on the other ; and to satisfy all that is legitimate in the aspirations of the most different movements. At this very moment she is threatened with grave danger. A measure of disestablishment for Wales is threatened which would most seriously cripple her usefulness. The old leaders have passed away—Benson and Westcott and Temple—but something of their large-hearted wisdom survives in their successors, and the Church is in touch with the movements of the age. External pressure tells upon her canonical rules : the whole marriage law, for example, seems likely to be revised or reconsidered by the State. Internal troubles vex her, when crude thinkers are unable to fit their studies into harmony with the age-long theology of the Church. But intellectual and political stress is a call for new energy and new devotion, and we do not doubt that the call will be answered.

GLOSSARY

Anglican, the term used to distinguish the Church in England from other branches of the Catholic Church. The Church is thus described in Magna Carta (*Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit*). The expression is now often used of the Western Churches, and those springing from them, which are not in communion with Rome.

Annates, or the first year's income of bishoprics and other benefices. To these the popes from the thirteenth century gradually laid claim. In 1532-34 they were transferred by Act of Parliament to the crown. Queen Anne finally gave them up for Church purposes.

Bernard, the greatest of the Cistercian order (founded 1098). He was born in 1091, and founded the abbey of Clairvaux, from which he exercised, through his holy life, learning, and zeal, an extraordinary influence over the whole Church.

Brythons, a Celtic race which invaded our island after the Goidels and gradually conquered nearly the whole land.

Calvin, John, a great French reformer of the sixteenth century who settled at Geneva and established a system of doctrine and discipline which was accepted by large bodies of Protestants on the Continent. The Calvinists denied that the Sacraments are effectual signs of grace, rejected Episcopacy, and taught that God does not grant saving grace to all men, even if they desire it.

Catholic, universal. The Catholic Church is that which retains the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons which have been in the Church since the Apostles' time, and adheres to 'the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints' (Jude 3).

Culdees, a monastic order coming originally from Ireland and having many houses in Scotland. They afterwards abandoned their strict rules and adopted those of the secular clergy.

Gildas, a British monk who wrote in the sixth century an account of the miseries of his people.

Goidels, a Celtic tribe which invaded our island, conquered its old non-Aryan inhabitants, and was gradually driven to the west by the Brythons.

Gregory I., pope 590-604. Great as a theologian, statesman, and organiser of the Papal State on the ruins of the Roman Empire.

Ignatius, Saint, bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom about A.D. 110. His epistles nobly describe the Person of our Lord and the organisation of the Church.

Jesuits, a society founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534. It devoted itself to the deepening of spiritual life and the recovery of the lands which had cast off the papal power. The Jesuits have generally advocated the most extreme form of Romanism.

Lutheranism, named after Martin Luther, the founder of German Protestantism. Lutheranism taught a perverted form of S. Paul's doctrine of justification, rejected genuine bishops, and denied that Christ ought to be worshipped in the Sacrament, though it held that He is really present in the Sacrament during the Communion.

Mass, a name which began to be applied to the 'Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper' in Western Europe about the end of the fourth century. The word originally meant the solemn 'dismissal' of worshippers at this service, and was then given to the service from which they were dismissed. The more primitive name for the service is Eucharist, which means 'thanksgiving.'

Mortmain, the holding land in *dead hand*, i.e. by corporations, ecclesiastical or other, which are not liable to feudal military dues or succession duties. A statute was passed against holding land in mortmain in 1279.

Non-jurors, those who would not swear allegiance to any other sovereign than those of the house of Stewart, especially in the times of William III., George I., and George II. The non-jurors included many devout Churchmen in England and almost all the Scottish Episcopalians.

Origen, died A.D. 254. A great Christian writer of Alexandria, who tried to combine all that was good in Greek philosophy with Christianity.

Ornaments rubric, the rubric printed in the Book of Common Prayer before the Morning Prayer. It directs the use of such ornaments of the Church and Ministers (*e.g.* lights and vestments) as were used by the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI.

Praemunire.—A statute passed in 1353-1355 against papal jurisdiction in England.

Presbyterianism, a system of Church government which maintains that a presbyter or priest is the equal of a bishop, and that the presbyters therefore form the highest order of the ministry. The various Presbyterian denominations are built upon the doctrines of Calvin.

Provisors.—A statute passed in 1351 against papal provisions (*i.e.* appointments to English benefices).

Tertullian, died about A.D. 221. A powerful Christian writer who wrote in Latin against paganism and heresy. He deserted the Catholic Church and became a member of the Montanist sect.

Transubstantiation is the word used by Roman Catholics to describe the doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of His body and blood. For several centuries the Church used no phrase to describe the manner of Christ's presence. The Church was content to say that the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ through the power of the Holy Ghost and of our Lord, who is the divine Word 'by whom all things were made.' The union of the bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ was sometimes compared with the union existing between His manhood and His Godhead. In the twelfth century an attempt was made to define the manner of Christ's presence on the lines of the philosophy then popular. It was thought that everything consists of *substance* and *accidents*. The accidents were thought to be that part of a thing which we can see and touch. The substance was thought to be a mysterious something which exists behind anything that we can see and touch, and which makes a thing to be what it is. It was therefore said that after consecration the accidents of bread and wine (such as size and taste) remain, and that the substance of the bread and wine was replaced by the mysterious spiritual substance of the body and blood of Christ.

The fourth Lateran Council, held at Rome in 1215, accepted this theory and said that the bread and wine are *transubstantiated* into the body and blood of Christ. This theory was put into a very superstitious form not only by the ignorant but by many of the clergy. They thought that the presence of Christ was material rather than spiritual. This error was partly caused by Pope Nicholas II., who induced Berengarius to say that the body of Christ was present 'sensually, and ground by the teeth of the faithful.' This doctrine was taught in one of its worst forms in England, as is shown by a statement of Archbishop Arundel in 1413. He asserted that the *material* bread was changed into Christ's body, as if even the 'accidents' of the bread disappeared at consecration. It is plain that this theory is both opposed to the teaching of the early Church and overthrows the nature of the Sacrament by denying all reality to the outward forms of bread and wine.

The Roman Catholic Council of Trent in 1551 again, in very strong words, affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation, but without either definitely sanctioning or disallowing the superstitious and materialistic view which had been current in some quarters during the Middle Ages.

A SHORT CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS
IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH
IN GREAT BRITAIN

A.D.		PAGE
?304	Martyrdom of S. Alban,	2
?390	Mission of S. Ninian,	3
409	Heresy of Pelagius,	2
430	Alleluia Victory,	3
?473	Invasion of the English and Saxons,	4
563	Mission of S. Columba,	4
597	Mission of S. Augustine,	5
603	Conference with British Bishops,	5
604	Death of S. Augustine,	5
627	Baptism of Eadwine by Paulinus,	6
634	Mission of S. Birinus to Wessex,	6
635	Mission of S. Aidan in Northumbria,	6
664	Synod of Whitby,	7
668	Consecration of Theodore of Tarsus,	9
673	Council of Hertford,	9
678	Expulsion of Wilfrith,	9
685	Episcopate of S. Cuthbert,	11
690	Death of Archbishop Theodore,	9
709	Death of Wilfrith,	10
735	Ecgberht, first Archbishop of York,	12
735	Death of Bede,	13

A.D.		PAGE
747	Council of Cloveshoo,	13
787	Archbishopric of Lichfield,	13
794	Danish Invasion,	14
855	Æthelwulf's Law on Tithes,	15
870	Martyrdom of S. Edmund,	15
878	Peace of Wedmore,	15
899	Death of Alfred,	15
959	Archbishopric of S. Dunstan,	16
1011	Murder of S. Alphege,	16
1027	Canute's Visit to Rome,	16
1042	Accession of Edward the Confessor,	16
1070	Consecration of Lanfranc,	18
1093	Consecration of S. Anselm,	20
1110	Murder of S. Magnus,	22
1135	Stephen's Charter,	23
1154	Accession of Henry II.,	26
1164	Constitutions of Clarendon,	26
1170	Murder of S. Thomas of Canterbury,	27
1189	Archbishop Baldwin's Mission in Wales,	29
1215	Magna Carta,	31
1220-24	The Coming of the Friars,	31
1253	Death of Robert Grosseteste,	32
1255	Little S. Hugh,	33
1265	Battle of Evesham,	33
1279	Statute of Mortmain,	34
1307	Statute of Carlisle,	34
1348	The Black Death,	35
1351	Statute of Provisors,	35
1384	Death of Wyclif,	35

A.D.	PAGE
1393 Second Statute of Praemunire, . . .	35
1401 Statute <i>de haeretico comburendo</i> , . . .	36
1457 Condemnation of Bishop Pecock, . . .	36
1472 Archbishopric of S. Andrews, . . .	45
1486 Cardinal Morton, Archbishop, . . .	38
1492 Archbishopric of Glasgow, . . .	45
1524 The Divorce Question, . . .	41
1529 The Reformation Parliament, . . .	42
1531 Royal Supremacy Ratified, . . .	43
1532 Annates to Rome abolished, . . .	43
1533 Declaration of Nullity of Henry VIII's Marriage, . . .	42
1534 Abolition of Appeals to Rome, . . .	43
1536 Suppression of Lesser Monasteries, . . .	44
1536 The Ten Articles, . . .	44
1538-39 Suppression of Greater Monasteries, . . .	44
1539 The Six Articles, . . .	44
1549 First Prayer Book of Edward VI., . . .	50
1552 Second Prayer Book, . . .	51
1555 Reunion with Rome, . . .	51
1555 Burning of Ridley and Latimer, . . .	52
1556 Burning of Cranmer, . . .	52
1559 Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy, . . .	53
1559 Consecration of Parker, . . .	54
1560 Abolition of the Scots Episcopate, . . .	46
1570 Excommunication of Elizabeth, . . .	56
1571 The English Thirty-nine Articles, . . .	54
1581 Coming of the Jesuits, . . .	56
1588 The Spanish Armada, . . .	56
1592 Establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, . . .	59

98 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

A.D.	PAGE
1594 Publication of Hooker's <i>Ecclesiastical Polity</i> ,	58
1603 Accession of James I.,	62
1610 Consecration of the three Scots Bishops,	60
1618 Assembly of Perth,	61
1604 Hampton Court Conference,	62
1611 Issue of the Authorised Version,	63
1643 Abolition of Established Episcopacy in England,	65
1645 Execution of Archbishop Laud,	66
1649 Execution of Charles I.,	66
1660 Restoration of Church and King,	67
1661 Savoy Conference,	67
1661 Act of Uniformity,	69
1661 Scots Rescissory Act,	71
1662 Issue of Revised Prayer Book,	68
1673 The Test Act,	70
1679 Murder of Archbishop Sharp,	72
1688 Trial of the Seven Bishops,	71
1689 Abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland,	72
1698 Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge founded,	74
1701 Society for Propagation of Gospel begun,	74
1704 Queen Anne gave the Tenth and First-fruits,	74
1710 Sacheverell's Trial,	74
1729 Beginning of Methodism,	79
1736 Publication of Butler's <i>Analogy</i> ,	79
1784 Consecration of Bishop Seabury,	83
1791 Death of John Wesley,	80
1833 The Oxford Movement,	84
1852 Revival of Convocations,	86
1867 First Lambeth Conference,	89
1908 Great Pan-Anglican Congress,	89

INDEX OF NAMES OF PERSONS

ÆTHELBERHT, King, 5.
 Aidan, S., 6, 7, 11.
 Alban, S., 2.
 Alfred, King, 15.
 Alphege, S., 16.
 Andrewes, Bishop, 62.
 Anne, Queen, 74, 75.
 Anselm, 20, 21, 22.
 Arles, Council of, 2.
 Arnold, Dr., 84.
 Augustine, S., 5.

BALDWIN, Archbishop, 29.
 Beaton, Cardinal, 45.
 Becket, Thomas, 26, 27, 31.
 Bede, 7, 12, 13.
 Bernard, S., 24, 25.
 Burnet, Bishop, 24.
 Butler, Bishop, 79.

CANUTE, King, 16.
 Chad, S., 8.
 Colman, 7.
 Columba, S., 4.
 Columbanus, S., 4.
 Cranmer, Archbishop, 42, 43, 49,
 51.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 66.
 Cromwell, Thomas, 44.

Culdees, 15.
 Cuthbert, S., 7, 11.

DAVID, King, 21, 22.
 David, S., 4.
 Dominicans, 31.

EDMUND, King, 15.
 Edward, Confessor, 16, 17, 21.
 Edward I., 33, 34.
 Edward VI., 48, 49, 50, 51.
 Elbod, Bishop, 14.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.

FORBES, Bishop, 85.
 Franciscans, 31.

GERMANUS, S., 3.
 Gregory, S., 5.
 Grosseteste, Bishop, 32.

HENRY I., 21, 22, 23.
 Henry II., 26, 27, 28, 29.
 Henry VII., 38, 39, 40, 41.
 Henry VIII., 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44,
 45, 48, 49, 51, 53.
 Herbert, George, 63.
 Hilda, S., 11.
 Hoadly, Bishop, 78.
 Hugh, Bishop and Saint, 30.
 Hugh, Little S., 33.

100 THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

JAMES I. and VI., 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.

James II. and VII., 71.

Jane, Queen, 51.

Juxon, Archbishop, 67.

KEBLE, John, 84, 85, 86.

Ken, Bishop, 71, 73, 84.

Kitchin, Bishop, 48.

Knox, John, 45, 46, 47, 49.

LANFRANC, 18, 19, 20.

Langton, Stephen, 30, 31.

Latimer, Bishop, 51, 52.

Laud, Archbishop, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67.

Leighton, Archbishop, 72.

Luther, Martin, 41, 44.

MARY I., Queen, 51, 52.

Mary II., Queen, 73.

Mary of Scotland, Queen, 45, 47, 59.

Milton, John, 67.

Montfort, Simon de, 32, 33.

Morton, Archbishop, 38, 39, 41.

NEWMAN, Dr. J. H., 84, 85, 86.

Ninian, S., 3.

OSWALD, King, 6, 10.

Oswiu, King, 7, 10.

PARKER, Archbishop, 53, 54, 55.
Pusey, Dr. E. B., 84, 85, 86.

RATTRAY, Bishop, 78.

Ridley, Bishop, 51, 52.

SACHEVERELL, Dr., 75.

Sancroft, Archbishop, 71, 73.

Seabury, Bishop, 83.

Sharp, Archbishop, 71, 72.

Skinner, Bishop, 83.

TAYLOR, Bishop Jeremy, 74, 84.

Theodore, Archbishop, 9.

Tillotson, Archbishop, 73.

WARHAM, Archbishop, 39, 40.

Wesley, Charles, 79, 80.

Wesley, John, 79, 80, 81.

Whitby, Synod of, 7, 8.

Whitefield, George, 79, 80.

Whitgift, Archbishop, 57, 62.

Wilberforce, Samuel, 86.

Wilberforce, William, 82.

Wilfrith, S., 8, 9, 10.

William I., 17, 18, 19, 20.

William III., 71, 73, 74.

Willibrod, S., 12.

Winchester, Henry of 24, 25.

Wynfrid, S., 12, 13.

Wolsey, Thomas, 38, 39, 40.

Wulfstan, 20.

Wyclif, John, 34, 35, 36.

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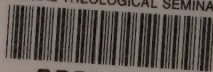
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